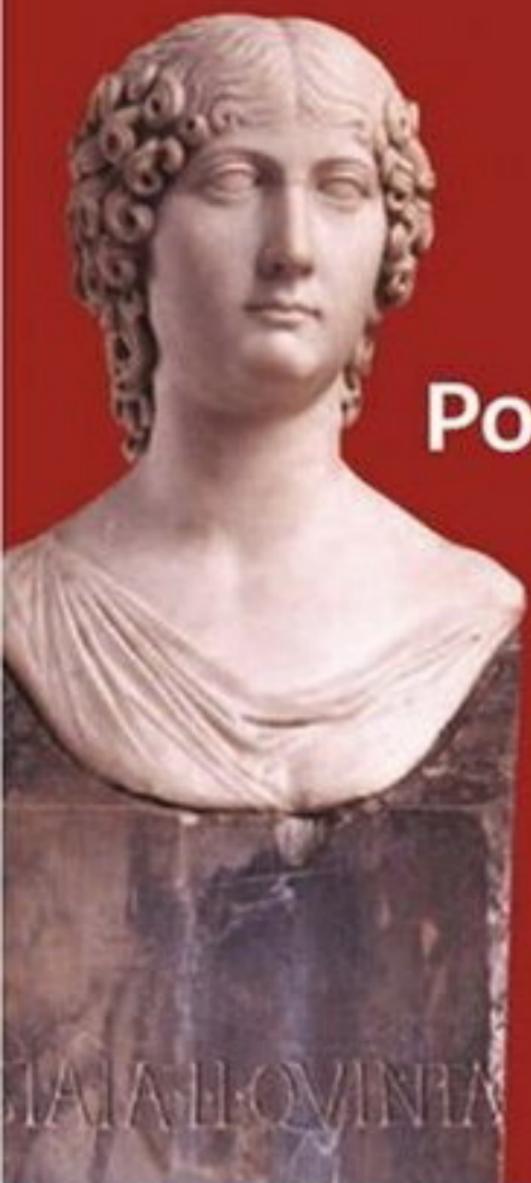


Image & Context
de Gruyter



Jane Fejfer
**Roman
Portraits in
Context**

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Some practical notes: Firstly, the illustrations: every museum object is provided with at least one measurement, its material and its inventory number; w.i. (without inventory) is only used when I have been unable to find one. Secondly, ancient authors have not been listed in Works cited. However a reference to the edition (mainly Loeb) which I have consulted is given in the notes. Finally, abbreviations for journals and series follow those of Archäologische Bibliographie.

Copenhagen, May 2007

Jane Fejfer



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Introduction



In second-century A.D. Ostia, the senate honoured Fabius Hermogenes upon his death with a public funeral and an equestrian statue to be placed in the city's forum. Hermogenes had been public equester, priest in the cult of the deified emperor Hadrian, and benefactor to the city. His father, probably a freedman but with considerable monetary resources, and proud of the public commemoration of his deceased son, made the generous gift of 50,000 sesterces in return. Part of the interest of these 50,000 sesterces was to be distributed among the citizens every year on Hermogenes' birthday and, as it was decided, in front of his statue. The incident, recorded on the statue base which once bore Hermogenes' equestrian bronze statue, is not an isolated one. Numerous similar records demonstrate that the award of a portrait statue was considered perhaps the highest public honour a person could wish for in Roman society. Hermogenes' commemoration highlights the essence of what is at issue in Roman honorific portraiture: the desire for public honour and glorification; perpetuation of the memory of the patron through the portrait image itself and through the events taking place in front of it; reciprocity between a city and its citizen(s); concern for the mode of representation, the material and the location of the statue. The publicly displayed honorific statue was the normative format of a Roman portrait image. It played a prime role in the public life of a Roman citizen. Honour defined a citizen's position in society – the greater his honour the greater his power. To the Romans the zealously sought after honorific portrait was the best means of demonstrating status and power and of perpetuating one's existence. The honorific statue represented values and ideals that were universal in time and space. The award of an honorific statue turned an ordinary citizen into the ideal citizen. It therefore played a significant part in the creation of common identity, in constructing memories and a sense of ancestry within a communal system of values across the Empire.

My primary interest is to discover how and why portraiture became, not just the most widely disseminated but possibly also the most important monumental art form with a pivotal role in expressing political ideology, social and intellectual identity. I will also explore the way in which such statues facilitated exchange between the emperor and those over whom he ruled, and between a citizen and his fellow citizens in the Roman Empire. Therefore I focus less on style, typology and chronology, than on reconstructing the socio-historical and physical context of portraiture. The study is not confined to the portraits themselves, but also relies on epigraphical sources, as the discussion of the inscription

honouring Hermogenes above has already indicated. The essential reason for this is that although we can deduce important information about the interaction between images and viewers from an analysis of the portrait images themselves, there are certain types of information which they cannot yield. There are limits to how far we can progress in relating portrait images to the surrounding socio-historical environment for which they were created by analysing artistic expressions and details of facial physiognomy, styling of hair and costume alone, even when the point of departure is historical.¹ Inscriptions often offer further insights, however.² The aim of an inscription is to present information about the patron. It has long been recognized that not all portrait inscriptions were composed according to a standard formula. In the language of praise and in the composition of details about the life of the patron the text contributes to the rhetorical power of the portrait and epitomizes what the viewer should read in the image. Inscriptions provide information about the patron that would be impossible to glean from the image alone. Without the accompanying inscription we would hardly ever have guessed that the life-size statue of a proud Roman in toga with a capsula of book rolls at his feet, in excellent eastern marble and of the highest quality carving, represents the actor and freedman Gaius Fundilius with the cognomen Doctus, ‘one who has learned something’³ (see plate 26). On the other hand, inscriptions may introduce different aspects of the character or career of the patron, as when an aristocrat is portrayed in the standard civic costume of the toga but with the details of his long and distinguished career listed in the inscription. Information that has no direct relevance to the visual representation of the image, for example what the patron contributed to the upkeep and welfare of the city in order to earn his statue, shall also be considered because it adds to the overall understanding of the role portrait images played in Roman society. Inscriptions may give supplementary and even contradictory information to the messages that are communicated in the portrait image but portrait and inscription serve the same overall purpose of communication with the viewer. In modern research, portraits and inscriptions are often treated as two separate sources and even studied by different academic disciplines. It is a fundamental point – hardly original but often neglected – that portrait images and inscribed statue bases, which were in antiquity usually united in a single monument and as part of the same concept, with the same function and expressing a similar ideology, should best be studied together. This is what will be argued in the following study.

It has sometimes been held that the study of Roman portraiture is a somewhat fossilized branch of classical archaeology.⁴ Critics have argued that hardly any new ideas have entered this mainly German dom-

inated research area during the whole post-war era and that it was not until the 1980s that new approaches appeared.⁵ Given the fact that archaeology was strongly dominated by new theoretical approaches such as those appearing in Cambridge in the 1960s, this ‘fossilization’ requires further explanation. Archaeology is a discipline which does not have its own theory. But during the 1960s and 1970s with the emergence of the so-called New Archaeology which borrowed scientific models and approaches from anthropology and social history, archaeology moved away from what has been named ‘the old art history’: New Archaeology had serious scientific ambitions whereas traditional art history grounded its knowledge in connoisseurship. This created a dichotomy in classical archaeology between archaeology that was studied in relation to society, and art history understood in aesthetic terms. The latter school’s prime concern was with style and aesthetics, setting art objects apart from the social system. Studies on portraiture entered the discussion relatively late and the preoccupation with identification, typology, style and dating, continued for much longer than in other areas of classical archaeology, probably because it was considered to be the most ‘scientific’ and objective approach. Studies that tried to write the social history of the ancient portrait were exception. However, during the last twenty years or so, new approaches have appeared in which social explanation and aesthetic understanding meet. The idea that Roman portraits are the product of and are embedded in a specific historical context has come to be taken seriously. Important finds in Asia Minor and other parts of the Empire have been well documented; and approaches in which the wider context of these portraits is considered a key issue, are crucial for the development of future approaches to Roman portraiture.⁶ That such approaches took so long to come to the fore and have only reluctantly been accepted in portrait studies does not imply that the study of Roman portraiture during the post-war period was not a product of its time – quite the contrary. Without discussing in detail the history of the study of Roman portraiture (this has been done fairly recently by other scholars)⁷ it may be useful to explore this and a few other aspects further because it is of importance for understanding why the study of Roman portraiture has taken the direction that it has.

Firstly, going back to the German ‘Strukturforschung’ of the first half of the 20th century in which the notion of Greekness as opposed to Romaness played a crucial role, many studies on portraiture have been rooted in discussions about the origin of the Roman so-called veristic portrait. Scholars have been concerned with explaining why and how the transition from the Greek so-called idealised portrait into the Roman so-called veristic portrait took place. Two examples from different eras are Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg’s study from the 1920s and Jeremy

Tanner's study from 2000,⁸ both of which are concerned with explaining the origin of the Roman veristic portrait. Kaschnitz-Weinberg argues that verism developed from the tradition of taking death masks while Tanner suggests that it originated in the Greek East as an expression of the relationship between Roman patrons and Greek clients. Although Kaschnitz-Weinberg was not the first to propose the death masks theory his works became very influential and were discussed as late as the 1980s.⁹ He argued that the early Roman portrait was a fully realistic representation of an individual with all physiognomic characteristics based on the tradition of casting the face in death. He supported his theory with literary evidence, in particular Polybius' description of *imagines maiorum*, albeit not death masks but ancestral masks.¹⁰ It was not until ca. 100 B.C., so he claims, that the non-artistic (of course, Roman) portrait style was fused with the artistic expressionist (Greek) portrait style. But, according to Kaschnitz-Weinberg, the death mask continued to play a key role in Roman portraiture, which was therefore considered a non-manipulative art form. This theory has had a great impact on many of the studies of Roman portraiture in the first half of the 20th century and well beyond. Even though it was gradually accepted that the Roman portrait became, or even originated in, a manipulating art form there were no attempts at historically-based interpretations. Studies continued to concentrate on portraiture as the expression of personality and as part of a linear, autonomous chronological development.¹¹

Secondly, it is important to be aware that the study of Roman portraiture was and still is strongly dominated by the German school. Following E.Q. Visconti's early 19th century studies, J.J. Bernoulli undertook the first systematic treatment of Roman portraiture during the last decade of the 19th century.¹² Bernoulli based his identification of the sculpted portraits on comparisons with named likenesses on coins and introduced a system of making lists of portraits which he believed represented the same person. His studies inspired a long series of studies along similar lines. Before the outbreak of the Second World War scholars not only elaborated on Bernoulli's methodology but also broke new ground, in particular in their interpretation of portraits. Studies appeared which concentrated on the inner self and the psychology of the patron portrayed. Some such studies took a very unfortunate direction during the late 1930s when racial interpretations of Roman portraits became an issue in German research.¹³ No wonder then, that after the Second World War scholarship avoided such cognitive approaches, especially any that would be concerned with reading identity, ethnicity or personal character in a portrait. Instead scholars stayed on more neutral objective and 'scientific' ground by working in particular on typology by the refining of the systems already conceived by Bernoulli in the 1890s. Schol-

ars focussed on bringing order to the chaos of imperial portraits, portraits of private citizens and images of personifications, as well as collecting evidence for the different modes of representation. By means of a stringent typology it became possible to separate official imperial and widely disseminated portraits from portraits of private citizens. The identification of a portrait as imperial because ‘it looks like’ the emperor is no longer an issue.¹⁴ Good photographic documentation has enabled scholars to refine the so-called method of ‘Lockenzählen’¹⁵, which is essentially a critical investigation of the individual locks of hair (and to a certain extent of physiognomic details) in a portrait. The method enables us to decide whether a portrait is unique when no copies of it are known or, when copies do survive, to establish what the relationship between them is. The method also solves further typological and stylistic questions: for example, whether a particular copy is close to the original or so-called prototype, repeating in detail all the characteristics of the type; whether it was a quickly-produced copy or one that took time to craft; whether it was made in a metropolitan Roman or a provincial workshop. The method of ‘Lockenzählen’ is therefore hugely important and provides the basis for any further investigations. If we cannot distinguish between imperial and non-imperial portraits, we can neither ask questions about the impact and meaning of the portraits nor about how the process of commissioning, production and dissemination functioned. Models and rules set up for identifying imperial portrait types and to some extent for understanding regional diversity and style, like that suggested by Klaus Fittschen in 1971,¹⁶ have proven very useful.

It is clear, however, that methodology cannot be the goal in itself. It only provides a means for formulating further questions about the socio-historical context and the impact and meaning of Roman portraiture, private or imperial. This book is therefore concerned with reconstructing the context for commissioning and setting up the portraits. Rather than being a comprehensive study, the book selects issues that are essential for understanding what the Roman portrait *was*; it is therefore not only concerned with the images themselves but also with inscriptions, as mentioned above. The study also refers to literary sources though less frequently. Ancient authors recording the events of their own time may have had a particular aim, which could best be obtained by extreme exaggeration. The important speech by Dio Chrysostom against the Rhodians, for example, which is a mine of information on second century A.D. Greek attitudes towards portrait statues, particularly those of Romans, has to be considered. However, to take the information at face value and interpret it as evidence of a general attitude towards the honorific statue would be a mistake. Dio wrote this speech in a specific historical situation and with the particular purpose of demonstrating

that the Rhodians were wrong in their attitude towards the honorific statue. In short, although archaeological and literary sources are products of the same culture, the literary sources often provide a very selective record. They may have a moralizing character, they may treat the peculiar rather than the general because they were written with a special purpose, under patronage or with obligations to an important individual, or they may take the form of flattery typically of the emperor. Archaeological sources including inscriptions may reveal overall trends better, simply by virtue of their sheer number and the factual nature of the information that they provide. The literary portrait is also of limited relevance for understanding the visual portrait. Suetonius' description of Tiberius as having over-sized eyes and a small mouth could match many public portraits,¹⁷ and imperial biographies or panegyrics like Pliny the Younger's characterization of Trajan were a product of the political ambition of the writers in question. Such descriptions are therefore highly selective in the characteristics that they mention.¹⁸ Indeed Pliny, who was a careful observer and describer of natural objects showed very limited interest in physical appearances, even that of Trajan.¹⁹ The writings of the physiognomists attempting to describe people's true character by their physiognomy, like Polemo's description of the physical defects of his favourite opponent, the sophist and rhetor Favorinus, are also of little relevance.²⁰ Although details of facial features are discussed and compared to the character of different types of animals, the descriptions are extremely stereotyped and aim at designating types of persons rather than individuals. In addition, physiognomic treatises are often used to ridicule, or to describe just the negative aspects of a person, as in the case of Favorinus, whereas visual portraits were normally intended to convey the positive in a person.²¹ On the other hand, these physiognomic treatises are evidence for a literary tradition and for the ancient viewer's familiarity with the basic deciphering of a face. Both the authors of the physiognomic treatises and the ancient biographers describe what resembles a person as we would today consider it. It is however clear that one of the most interesting developments in the study of Roman portraiture within the last decade has been the focus on the extent to which the imperial Greek literary trend known as the Second Sophistic and the interest in the *paideia* that accompanied it influenced contemporary portraiture, in particular the sculpted portraits of the first part of the second century A.D. in both the western and eastern part of the Empire. Yet, as the impact of the Second Sophistic was an element in Roman society for almost two centuries through the early and middle Empire, the influence which it has been thought to have on Roman visual portraiture may perhaps have been overestimated.²²

No book has previously been wholly devoted to Roman portraits and their context and the ambition with this study is therefore that for the non-specialist reader it may function as an introduction to the world of Roman portraiture. To the specialist that it will offer commentaries, discussions and some new models and ideas that are at the center of actual research. The structure of the book follows three equally important trajectories. Firstly, it gives an idea of the evidence that may be extracted from a consideration of the full mass of extant portraits, portrait inscriptions and portrait settings. Secondly, founded on a reassessment and combination of previous portrait and epigraphy studies new perspectives on the context of Roman portraits emerge. Thirdly, the study offers a number of new interpretations, readings and models.

Only a very broad chronological and geographical span will provide sufficient evidence to permit us to understand the wider socio-historical context of the portraits. I therefore include evidence from across the Empire from the Republican period into the early fourth century A.D., when the number of honorific statues and portraits of private citizens in general decreased significantly. Also, portrait styles became transformed into having exaggerated facial features, and are of relevance only for images of the emperor and his governing entourage. Although I shall refer to various significant differences between portraits in the East and the West as well as to significant chronological developments, my aim is to draw a general pattern.

Changes in the imperial portrait no doubt functioned to multiply the styles, ideologies and fashions that predominated, as they were imitated extensively in private portraiture. However, so-called private portraits are discussed first, in Part One, because portraiture and the practice of dedicating honorific statues commenced long before the dynastic monarchy prevailed in Rome. I will argue that a statue in the forum was the highest honour to which a Roman citizen could aspire. While the emperor and high senatorial officials were routinely awarded statues, fierce competition existed among local benefactors to obtain this honour, which distinguished and perpetuated the memory of the patron and his family for generations. There were many ways in which a portrait statue could be earned but locals often had to wait until they had passed away before the public finally fulfilled their expectations. From the day they were set up and inaugurated, the statues therefore became ancestors and part of the communal memory of the city, reminding fellow citizens of the high standards that would be required of them in order to gain such honours. It is further demonstrated that by combining a wide socio-historical perspective with a close reading of individual images, their inscribed texts, and their setting, even the portraits which have been irrevocably separated from their original context and now adorn muse-

um galleries, are better understood. Part One also discusses the different functions of portraiture in private spaces, including corporate buildings, houses, villas and tombs.

In Part Two I examine modes of representation. The choice of material was conditioned by ideological, economic and functional circumstances and I discuss the different uses and meaning of abbreviated images, in particular busts as opposed to full-figure statuary types. Full-figure statue bodies of Roman men were not intended to set one individual apart from another, but to express the rank and public role of the patron. I then explore the range of ways of constructing identity in male portraits that were available. Basing the discussion on the well-documented group of portraits from the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi, I show how a single sculptural workshop was capable of expressing a variety of personal identities by drawing both on old-fashioned and on contemporary styles.

Part Three focuses on Roman women. Portraits of imperial and private women are treated together because, as I will argue, the close relationship between the empress and her fellow women had an important influence on women's public image, from the first into the late third century A.D. Private women could not hold public offices but they were highly visible in the cityscape as benefactresses and priestesses. Taking Perge in Pamphylia as a case study I demonstrate that images of women who were closely associated ideologically and in their imagery with the Roman empress, might dominate the approach to a city's administrative, generally male-dominated centre.

In Part Four the focus is on the emperor. I first look at the emperor's personal presence in Rome relating this to his role in state reliefs and in the free-standing statues set up across the city; I argue that there was awareness between the medium chosen and the messages that it was intended to send out. The free-standing statue of the emperor followed two equally important trajectories: it placed the emperor among equals because it followed the long Republican tradition of honouring outstanding politicians and military victors with honorific statues; and it made the emperor's personal appearance well-known by replicating his portrait again and again. I then proceed to discuss the process of defining and commissioning an imperial portrait type. While previous studies have mainly dwelt on style, typology and on interpreting the ideology that is believed to lie behind the widely disseminated imperial portrait, few scholars have been concerned with how the portrait was commissioned, distributed and set up. Taking a little known inscription as my point of departure, my emphasis is on questions of methodology. By establishing alternative models to those employed in other studies, I suggest that the whole issue of commissioning imperial portrait types as well as individual imperial portraits needs to be reconsidered.

**Part One:
Public Honours
and Private Expectations**





Plate 1
Portrait identified as Eutropios. First half of the fifth century A.D. Marble. Height: 0.29 m. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Plate 2

Sarcophagus found at Acilia showing a boy in full senatorial equipment for which he is too young.
Marble. Height: 1.49m; Length: 2,48m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo.

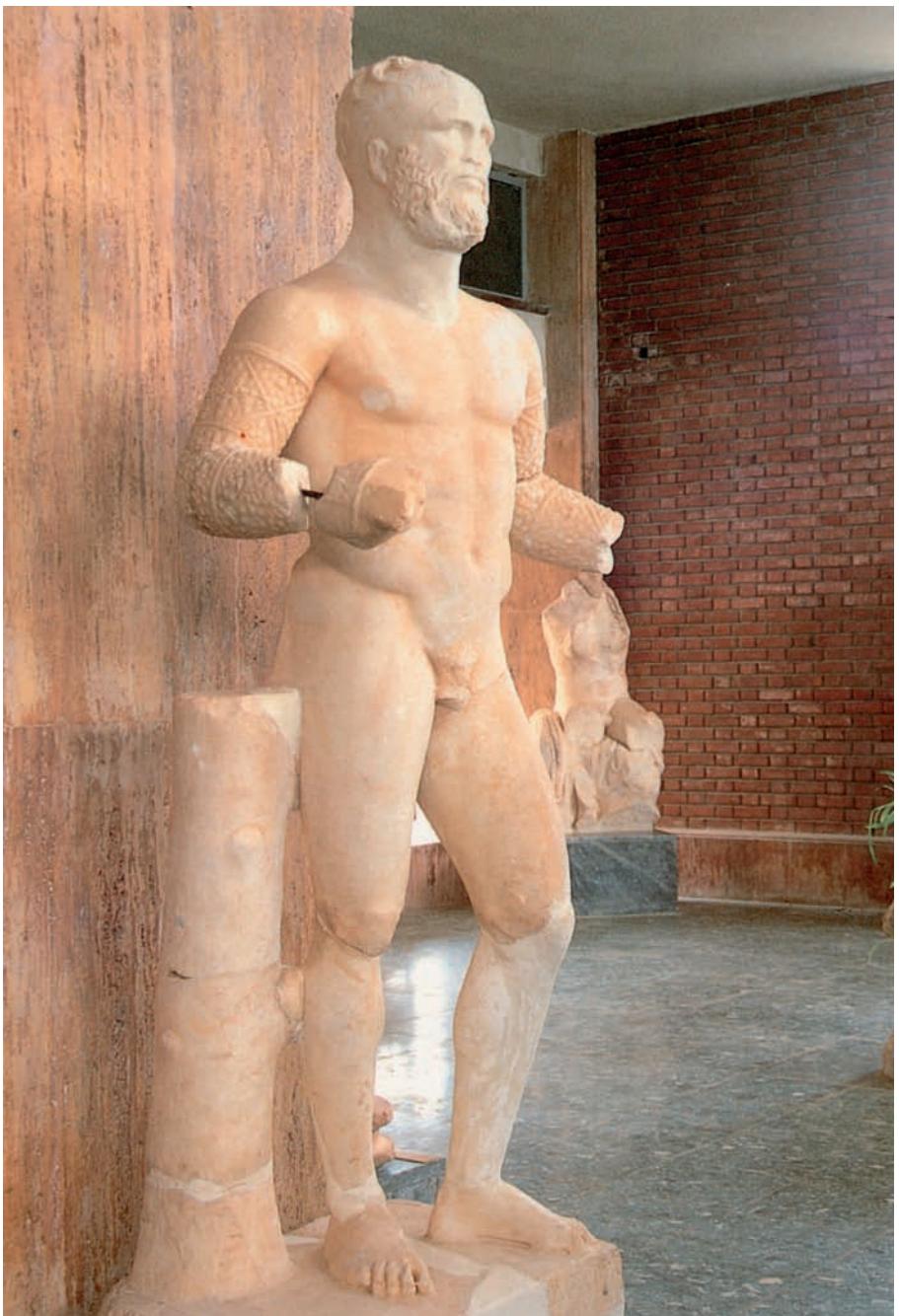


Plate 3

Statue of the boxer Piseas, son of Piseas found in the theatre of Aphrodisias. The tense muscles and scarred face bear witness to his profession. Ca. A.D. 200. Marble. Height (excluding plinth): 1.74m. Aphrodisias Museum.



Plate 4

The tomb of Fabius Hermogenes with its long commemorative inscription just outside the Porta Romana in Ostia.



The so-called Roman Private Portrait

What is a private Roman portrait?

'Private portrait' is a term that is to a large extent misleading, as many of the portraits dealt with in this chapter were made for a wide audience and displayed in a public space. The term is, however, retained here because it basically follows the ancient distinction between a person *publicus* and a person *privatus* during the imperial period. In Roman juridical thought there was a clear distinction between *publicus* and *privatus*. During the Republic *privati* referred to persons without administrative posts,¹ but during the Empire *privatus* was usually employed to contrast with the members of the *domus augustea*² or with the emperor himself, who was *publicus*. Even imperial family members like the crown princes could count among the *privati*.³ The extensive usage of the term by modern scholars is due to methodology. It is used to express the difference between the multiple-copied portrait type and portraits which stand in 'isolation', i.e. of which there are no copies. The sitter may therefore be interpreted as a non-prominent personality, a private individual. In this latter meaning the *privatus* is typically a local benefactor with his portrait displayed in the forum or else in a tomb, for example.

Throughout this study, however, I basically follow the ancient meaning of *privatus* and *publicus*. During the imperial period therefore, a private person is straightforwardly understood as any person not belonging to the imperial family. During the Republican period a *privatus* is a person without public office. In the latter case only an inscription identifies the person as *privatus* or *publicus*. In distinguishing between public and private spaces, I follow ancient portrait dedicatory practices because I believe this was meaningful to the ancient viewer. To public spaces I account those spaces where portraits were usually set up by or approved by a public institution, typically the decurions. Again following dedicatory practices private spaces are identified as those spaces where por-

traits were usually set up without public approval and/or without any inscription at all, typically in corporate buildings, houses, villas or tombs. The distinctions between the public and the private in the lives of elite Romans were however, not only minimal but also quite different from what we today consider to be the differences between these spheres. Houses, villas and tombs of the elite orders had a public as well as a private role. Portraits displayed in the entrance halls of the houses of important families articulated messages about the family's history and social and political position, but like the portraits displayed in tombs they also brought personal comfort and evoked remembrance, as tomb epigrams testify. Because my focus is mainly on the general historical context in which these portraits were conceived I have chosen to examine the portraits according to dedicatory practices. The first part of this chapter, therefore, deals with the honorific statue as a political tool, set up by a state body; in part two I look at portraits in corporate buildings, in domestic architecture and tombs. The portraits included in part two, when associated with a dedicatory inscription, were generally set up by private individuals or by private organizations.

The honorific statue

There is no Greek or Latin word for honorific statue. Different words signify different types of portrait but the term 'honorific statue' is a modern one. However, in the Greek world the principal term for honour, *timé*, is occasionally used synonymously with 'statue', and terms denoting various kinds of honour feature frequently in both Latin and Greek portrait inscriptions. The normal format of a portrait inscription, with the name of the person represented in the first line in the accusative in Greek and in the dative in Latin, also emphasizes the fact that the portrait was set up in praise of the sitter.

Honorific statues were in general formally awarded by a civic organization and set up in a public space but several statues represent 'borderline cases'. Some were erected in public spaces commissioned by private citizens, but with the permission of the *decuriones*. In other cases no dedicant is mentioned and the statue may have been part of a group associated with a common dedicatory inscription. Other statues were set up in quasi-public spaces such as *scholae* and were accompanied by long honorific inscriptions just like the portrait statues dedicated by the state around the city. However, the fact that they lacked the formal civic formula *DD* (*decreto decurionum*) shows that they were commissioned by private individuals or private organizations. The distinction between public and private in dedicatory inscriptions is therefore not straight-

forward, but it is maintained here because it highlights the two most important aspects of the Roman portrait: public honour and personal commemoration.

With its inscribed base, the honorific statue was about 3 m high (figs. 1–2). Such statues were a significant feature in the adornment of public squares and buildings around provincial cities by sheer virtue of their numbers. Numerous statues in Italian *municipia* and provincial towns honoured office holders in the service of the imperial administration, but those honouring locals dominated.⁴ Regional communities were deeply dependent on the financial generosity of their local elite, and important benefactors were rewarded or repaid with public honours, of which the honorific statue ranked as the highest.⁵ An honorific statue put a spotlight on the subject and strengthened the social position of his or her whole family, bestowing on them a prestige which may have lasted for generations (fig. 3). Every time a visitor to the forum passed by the statue, he was reminded of the prominence of the honorand and his family. To ensure that the statue would not be ‘overlooked’, wealthy families provided many a benefaction to the city on the condition that certain acts, for example the distribution of money or food, took place in front of the statue of the benefactor or one of their kinsmen. In provincial towns, the public space gradually became a place in which citizens consolidated their public image and demonstrated their pride in their ancestry. The latter had previously been a function of portraiture displayed in the atrium of the houses of the aristocracy. In addition, portraits with the primary function of bringing consolation were erected in public spaces, giving voice to a kind of ‘private language’.⁶ In designating the choice of location for these statues, the content of the inscription, the statue’s material, format and costume, the city could choose to engineer a degree of equality among its local elite citizens or stir up a welcome competition amongst them, just as it could fulfil their expectations or disappoint them.⁷ Elite citizens knew exactly what they had to do in order to be awarded an honorific statue. Many were awarded one or more statues in their home town when still in the prime of their lives, while many others had to wait until after their death to have their honorific statue set up in a public space, as we shall see. Because the practices regarding honorific statues were not static but reflected social and political changes, I shall now discuss a number of factors that are crucial for placing honorific statues in their historical and social context. We shall investigate firstly the origin of the honorific statue (section I), before considering how the portrait inscriptions were composed (section II). This is followed by exploration of the identity of the patrons (section III) and of those who dedicated the statues (section IV). We shall then examine the ways in which patrons could earn their por-



Fig. 1



Fig. 1
Typical honorific monument including portrait statue and inscribed base. Found in the theatre of Herculaneum. It shows the *Augustalis Lucus Mammius Maximus*. Bronze. Height: 2.12 m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

Fig. 2
The inscription is CIL X 1452. Height: 0.74 m; width: 0.5 m.

Fig. 3
Toga statue on a recreated base in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, Ostia.



Fig. 2

Fig. 3

traits and how the public responded to them (section V). Next is a section on the location of the statues in the city and the Empire (section VI). Lastly we shall consider the function of these statues and for how long they remained *in situ* (section VII).

Bearing in mind that very few honorific statues of private citizens were set up in the public spaces of Rome during the imperial period, my focus is on the communities outside Rome – the provincial towns and in particular the municipal towns of Italy where the honorific statue played a key role in local politics. I will argue that the governing institutions, which relied heavily on benefactions, strongly supported competition and that this competition took the form of benefactions from citizens who desired the most sought-after public reward, the honorific statue. Competition amongst city benefactors was so fierce that many had to wait until after their death to be granted a statue in public, as noted above. When the statue was finally awarded, the patron, if still alive, or else a family member took special care that the statue was not pulled down again but continued to be a presence in the city. The honorific statue became part of the city's communal heritage. Honorific statues provided *exempla* for future generations of the kind of generosity and good behaviour that would promote the common good and the fame of the city.

The origin of the honorific statue habit in the West

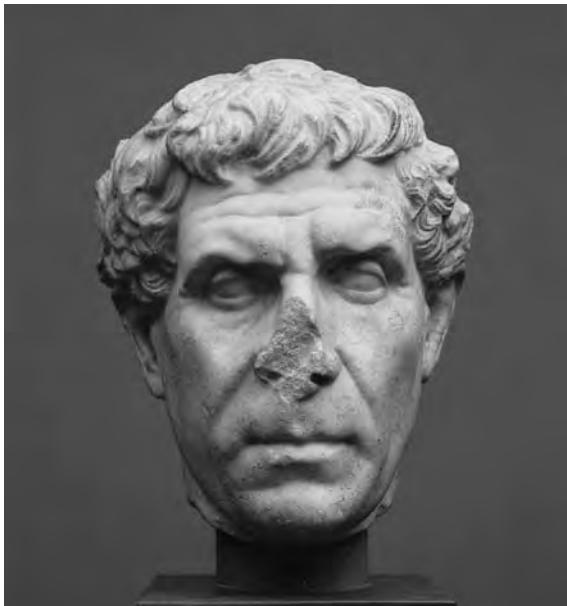
Citing Lucius Piso, Pliny the Elder records that in 158 B.C. the censors had all the statues in (or around) the Roman Forum removed except for those approved by the Roman Senate or the People. This testimony has given scholars reason to believe that by 158 B.C. Rome was filled with the honorific statues of magistrates and other honorands. Evidence for honorific statues in Rome from the Republican period until the mid-first century B.C. is almost exclusively literary and dates primarily from a much later period than that of the statues which are described here. Other testimony includes a limited number of honorific statues depicted on coins, and some few inscribed bases intended as supports for the statues. The literary record of these early honorific statues includes references to real or mythical persons who had played a role in Rome's past;⁸ to politicians, generals who had been awarded a triumph because of military success, and even a handful of women. The earliest genuine examples of this type of statue, again known only from later literary sources, may be two equestrian statues probably set up by the Senate in honour of the consuls Camillus and Maenius for their military sieges and dated to 338 B.C.⁹ The early statues are described in our sources as

standing or on horseback, sometimes displayed on the top of a column or on a *fornix*; we also hear of a single seated statue of a woman, Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.¹⁰ These descriptions bear witness to the existence of honorific statues in mid- and late-Republican Rome. Still, how common the awarding or setting up of an honorific statue was, remains an open question. Pliny the Elder refers to the clearing of the Forum Romanum for statues not dedicated by the Senate or the People in 158 B.C., and also states that Cato, censor in 184 B.C., had spoken out against statues of women. If we take these literary sources at face value, it seems that honorific statues were abundant and to a large extent dedicated on private initiative in Rome until the second century B.C.¹¹ However, Pliny's account of the clearing of the Forum and his complaints about statues of women, are both based on earlier sources. One may wonder whether he is influenced by the situation in his own time, when the Forum must have been rather crowded with statues. Perhaps the original source mentioned the removal of *some* statues? It is at least significant that only a handful of inscriptions can be associated with honorific statues from Italy from the first half of the second century B.C. or earlier, and that none of these are from Rome.¹² It is not until the time of Sulla, the first person for whom we have epigraphic evidence for *more* statues, that the practice of setting up honorific statues becomes common.¹³ And as very few sculpted portraits may be safely dated before the beginning of the first century B.C., it is very difficult to assert how common the practice of awarding honorific portraits really was in Rome: to judge from the material evidence – inscriptions and portraits – it was not very widespread, but in fact close to non-existent;¹⁴ the literary evidence, in contrast, mainly of a much later date than the actual statue dedications recorded, paints a picture in which the practice of erecting honorific portraits was common as a reward to those who had performed outstanding services for the *res publica*.

According to Roman literary tradition the concept of the honorific statue developed from local practices dating back to the erection of statues in honour of the Etruscan kings. Portraits in terracotta, bronze and stone are known from Etruria from the Republican period. However, interpreting the Etruscan material as the forerunner for Roman honorific statues (as well as the portrait medium in general) is problematic for several reasons. There is no evidence for honorific statues in Republican-period Etruria: terracotta heads are often cast and lack any sign of individuality; and although limestone and tufo heads are abundant it remains a fact that hardly any of these can be dated. In a recent investigation the French archaeologist and ancient historian Jean-François Croz collected all the portraits in limestone and other materials from Italy and Greece from the Republican period. But Croz's criteria for dat-

Fig. 4

Head of a man. First century A.D. copy of a supposed second century B.C. original. Marble. Height: 0.25 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



ing are almost exclusively stylistical. It remains highly doubtful as to whether any of the heads from Etruria which he dates to the early- and mid-Republican period actually antedate the first century B.C., when the influence could have come from Rome and not vice versa. Croz's study includes a chronological comparison of developments in the number of portraits in Italy with those extant from Greece. He also relates the use of materials for portraiture to geographical diversity and illustrates this with diagrams. But these potentially interesting aspects of his investigation fail completely because of the lack of safe dates.¹⁵ On the other hand, in a recent study of Republican portrait types, Megow dates the 'original' of a number of portrait types known from late first century B.C.–A.D. copies to the second century B.C. Portraits of their famous ancestors were of course in demand by members of later generations for family tombs and houses, and for the statuary circles of *summi viri* in the public monuments of Rome. Given the lack of comparable material, though, dating the 'original' of these portrait types back to the second century on the basis of stylistic criteria of the much later copies, seem a highly subjective endeavour (fig. 4).¹⁶ Thus the so-called bronze Brutus in the Capitoline Museums is now interpreted as an early Augustan construct of a *vir illustris*.¹⁷

The evidence from Greece is, however, more secure. There is little doubt that it was from the Greek world that the Romans appropriated the practice of erecting honorific statues on a grand scale. In the Hellenistic East the practice of erecting portraits took shape in the late fourth

century B.C. Dedicatory and honorific statues were set up of politicians, benefactors, generals and members of important families.¹⁸ Large dynastic monuments and individual portrait statues were erected in sanctuaries as dedicatory monuments, while statues of politicians and others who had performed important services for the state were set up as honorific statues in the public squares. In the Roman East, Greece and especially in Asia Minor, the evidence for honorific statues is much more abundant for the Republican period than in the West because the practice represented the continuation of a Hellenistic tradition.¹⁹ The earliest honorific statues of Roman men, military persons in the service of Rome, appear in the East in 198 or 196 B.C.²⁰ During the second century when Rome became more and more involved in Greece, the number of statues awarded to Roman military leaders and magistrates steadily increases in number. During the first century B.C., cities and areas such as Athens, Delos, Delphi and Olympia boast abundant examples.²¹

In the Republican period Roman women – the wives of senators, proconsuls, and *negotiatores* – are much more frequently honoured in the Roman East than they are in the West. Honorific statues of Roman women are attested from the very beginning of the first century B.C.²² Recent studies have focused on the role of the Hellenistic East as formative for the custom of erecting portrait statues in the Roman West in relation to dedicatory practices, modes of representation and styles.²³ In this regard a transition from private to public honours can be discerned in the East during the late second century B.C. Previously only important politicians and generals were honoured by public bodies, whereas benefactors were typically honoured by individuals. This practice changed during the late second and early first centuries when statues erected by individual citizens gradually became rare in the public sphere and more and more statues of city benefactors were dedicated by the *demos*.²⁴

In Rome and in the Italian *municipia*, we have already briefly seen that the archaeological evidence for honorific statues, both statue bases and plastic portraits in general, is very sparse until the early first century B.C. Of course the possibility that this is conditioned by the extant material cannot be ignored. Bronze, for instance, prone to recycling, was obviously a much-used material during this early period, not just for portraits but probably also for inscribed bases such as plaques that would adorn a concrete or stone core. In municipal towns in Italy, there is evidence that honorific statues were erected from around the middle of the first century B.C.,²⁵ and that this practice spread to the provinces. Some provinces quickly adopted the honorific statue which was by the late Republican/early imperial period perceived as a quintessentially Roman convention,²⁶ whereas in certain western provinces, for example

the Iberian peninsula, they do not appear until well into the first century A.D. when the cities had attained Roman standards.²⁷

Public forces come to play a more dominant role than private ones in the dedication of honorific statues, and this transition occurred at more or less the same time in both the East and in Rome.²⁸ In Italy the evidence is initially too scant to discuss because the practice of dedicating statues had not yet become widespread, but for the first century B.C. we are on safer grounds. Dedicatory practices did not differ substantially between municipal and provincial towns, whereas the practices in Rome were distinct from those of the rest of the Empire. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the Roman Senate seems to have assumed the role of sole dedicant of statues in the public places of Rome. This situation obtains during the imperial period. In municipal towns in Italy and in the provinces the senate, a variety of governing bodies and institutions, as well as individual citizens (with special permission) could dedicate honorific statues. Secondly, although a systematic investigation of honorific inscriptions of the Late Republic has yet to be published,²⁹ it seems safe to assume that honorands receiving a statue in Rome were almost exclusively members of the highest senatorial aristocracy and office-holding families, at least from the late Republican period onwards. This tendency is even more pronounced in the early imperial period, when statues of private citizens became very rare, and imperial sculptural programmes dominated the public spaces of Rome.³⁰ In municipal towns in Italy, however, those who received a publicly dedicated statue came from more diverse backgrounds. Lastly, the reasons for which private citizens were honoured with public statues in Rome were almost always political. Senators who had achieved military success and received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, which replaced the triumph (now reserved for the emperor), would be honoured with a statue, as would senators who had served the *res publica* in important civic matters or perhaps those who had secured provisions for the city.³¹ But in municipal towns the most common reason for which a man would be granted a statue was as a result of his pecuniary benefactions to the city.

The variations in dedicatory practices and in the social composition of honorands in Rome and in the Italian cities should inevitably be seen in the light of the much disputed *ius imaginum*. Basing their hypothesis on a single passage in Cicero some scholars interpret the *ius imaginum* as a law or regulation exclusively granting to office holding noble families in Rome the right to carry masks of their ancestors, *imagines maiorum* in funerary processions and to have statues of themselves erected in public (so-called ‘Bildnisrecht’).³² There is little in the literary sources to confirm the existence of such a law. Harriet Flower has convincingly argued that it cannot be postulated on the basis of Cicero’s

text, as Cicero is possibly talking about one particular incident and image.³³ On the other hand, the clearing of the Forum in 158 B.C., the limitation of awarding statues primarily to high ranking and distinguished senators, the gradual disappearance of images of non imperial persons from Rome's public squares during the Early Empire, and the regulations imposed during the Late Empire,³⁴ leave no doubt that certain restrictions did prevail. These restrictions, for which we only have the indirect evidence mentioned above, were perhaps not explicitly stipulated by law but rather would have been connected with the role played by the rank, position and success of those who would receive a statue.³⁵

The distinction in the honorific statuary of Republican Rome suggested by M. Sehlmeyer between 'Ehrenstatue' meaning an honorific statue set up for a living person, and 'Memorialstatue', an honorific statue set up posthumously, is not relevant for our purpose.³⁶ There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, there is often no secure way of distinguishing between the two because the inscriptions do not normally mention whether the honorand was alive or dead when the statue was dedicated. Secondly, and more importantly, there is nothing to suggest that posthumous statues had a different function to those dedicated while the honorand was still alive. What does seem to have been important as I will show below is that the differences as they appear in municipal towns in Italy were linked to the social status of the honorand.

The honorific inscription

The statue base

The most common support for standing statues throughout the Empire is the tall shaft ranging in height between ca. 1.2 m to 1.8 m.³⁷ It is usually of marble or limestone but may also be constructed of a concrete core veneered with thin marble slabs or bronze plates.³⁸ The monolithic white marble or limestone shaft often has a separately added profiled top (and sometimes a base) which protrudes from it being between 0.56 m to 0.80 m wide and 0.4 m to 0.62 m deep (figs. 12 and 8). In most cases the front of the shaft is left plain or framed all around with a profile, or else has a small ornamental frieze running around the top. Some shafts were decorated with particular reference to the person honoured in the inscription whose statue stood above them. From Perge in Pamphylia, for instance, the inscribed base which once carried a larger than life-size statue of a victorious wrestler, is decorated around the top in relief with crowns alluding to the prizes he had won.³⁹ Similarly, a base honouring the famous actor and imperial freedman Lucius

Fig. 5
Base for a seated statue of Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi. Marble. Height: 0.83 m; Width: 1.16 m; Depth: 1.38 m. Rome, Museo Capitolino.



Fig. 6
Base for an equestrian statue of the *praefectus annonae*, Manilius Rusticanus from A.D. 306 *in situ* in the forum in Ostia.

Marble. Height: 1 m; Width: 0.84 m; Depth: 2.1 m.

Fig. 7
Low base for a bronze statue set up by the city of Curium in honour of Antipater, gymnasiarach. Lime stone. Height: 0.38 m; width: 0.72 m; depth: 0.62 m. Larnaca Museum.



Fig. 7



Fig. 6



Fig. 8

Fig. 8
Top of the base Fig. 12 with 'footprints' from a bronze statue.

Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius found in the sanctuary of Hercules Victor in Tivoli and set up by the local senate is decorated around the top with wreaths inscribed in Greek with the title of the tragedies for which he had won a prize (fig. 13).⁴⁰

Seated statues were usually mounted on slightly lower and much deeper bases; the bases for equestrian statues were also usually lower and of course much deeper than the bases carrying standing statues (figs. 5–6).⁴¹ Bronze statues were fastened to the top by large dowels, which have usually left three large almost circular depressions, one for the forefoot of the 'Spielbein' and two for the forefoot and heel of the 'Standbein' (fig. 8). Bronze statues could, however, also be fastened to the base by a circular plinth of bronze, which was cast into the marble top and joined to the statue. This procedure leaves a circular depression on the top of the shaft (fig. 10).⁴² The bronze plinth could also incorporate the top of the marble shaft. Marble statues were carved from a single piece of stone along with the oval plinth, which was either inserted into the top of the base or just placed on top of the base and secured by bronze clamps (fig. 9).⁴³ The statue support could also be constructed of concrete or tiles and covered on the front or all around with marble slabs or bronze plaques (fig. 14). Low and wide 'Greek type' base was also used, often no taller than 0.6 m and particularly popular in the eastern part of the Empire, in Greece, Asia Minor and in some Baltic provinces.



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Fig. 9
Top of a statue base for attaching the plinth of a marble statue with bronze clamps. Marble. Height: 1.13 m; width: 0.72 m; depth: 0.58 m. Ostia.

Fig. 10
Top of a base honouring the empress Julia Domna. The circular depression is for fastening the circular plinth of a bronze statue. Marble. Height: 1.42 m; width: 0.7 m; depth 0.7 m. Ostia.

The low base had been used in the East from the Archaic period on (fig. 7). It may have been retained in the Roman period in the East because it was styled after the manner in which speakers and officials addressed their audiences. The Greek way was to look up towards the audience from the orchestra of the theatre as in a (headless) himation statue on a low base in situ in the western *parodos* of the theatre of Herodes Atticus in Athens. In pose and in the deployment of the nude breast it reflects statues of Demosthenes and Marco Galli has suggested that it might be a statue of Herodes Atticus himself (fig. 11).⁴⁴ The Roman politicians, in contrast, spoke from the rostra in the Forum Romanum and in provincial cities in the West from similarly employed high platforms.⁴⁵ In the eastern provinces and in North Africa tall cylindrical, hexagonal or octagonal bases were popular during the second and third centuries too. When more statues were erected, for example as family group dedications, they might all be mounted on a single large base that was either square or semicircular in exedra form.

Tall columns were used as supports for honorific statues from the fourth century B.C. onwards, contemporaneously with the earliest honorific statues in Rome. Known from literary sources and depicted on coins, the *columna rostrata*, decorated with beaks of besieged ships was awarded exclusively to successful generals. Later, the column was used as a statue support for statues of the emperor.⁴⁶ In addition, the honorific arch, the Republican *fornix* – later called *arcus* – which had originally been erected to celebrate a military victory, might be used to support a portrait statue.⁴⁷ The earliest *fornix* known to have been used as a support is the Fornix Fabianus, perhaps erected around 120 B.C.⁴⁸ Later *fornices* were probably used to hold up portrait statuary, and in the imperial period this became a privilege of the emperor although there are a few examples of local citizens being honoured with an *arcus* (fig. 15).

Fig. 11

Himation statue perhaps representing Herodes Atticus. The plinth of the statue is led into the base, which is of a low 'Eastern' type. *In situ* in the western *parodos* of the theatre of Herodes Atticus in Athens. Marble. Height of statue and plinth (excluding base): 1.84 m.



Fig. 12

Base for a bronze statue of the duovir P. Aelius Aphrodisius from A.D. 187 in the forum of Lucus Feroniae. Marble. Height: 1.3 m; width: 0.82 m; depth: 0.7 m.



Fig. 13

Base for a statue of an athlete. The crowns on the top of the shaft refer to his victories. Marble. Height: 1.55 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.





Fig. 14
Statue bases originally covered with inscribed marble slabs of which one is seen towards the right. Lucus Feroniae, basilica.



Fig. 15
Quadrifrons carrying under life-size chariot groups in the macellum in Leptis Magna. Marble.

The text

Latin was used for inscribing honorific statue bases in the western part of the Empire.⁴⁹ It was also the language employed in the Roman East,⁵⁰ particularly for inscriptions honouring Roman senators in the provincial capitals and centres.⁵¹ However, a number of bilingual honorific inscriptions testify to the complex ways in which language could be used to articulate cultural identity. As with styles in statuary, linguistic trends both drew on and contributed to the acculturation of Romans and Greeks.⁵² Greek was by far the dominant language employed in the eastern part of the Empire, even in inscriptions honouring Roman officials and those honouring the Roman emperor and his family. The language in honorific inscriptions was therefore not necessarily part of the honoree's personal geographical or cultural identity but was adapted from the prevailing language in the geographic area probably due to two main

concerns. Firstly, it ensured that as many people as possible would be able to read the inscription. Secondly, while honorands could and often did express their cultural identity in their choice of clothing and hair-style, the language of the inscriptions followed or respected local habits. In North Africa, for example, in Leptis Magna in Tripolitania and Cyrene in the Cyrenaica there is a clear difference in the use of Latin versus Greek. In Leptis, a very Roman city, most statue bases were inscribed in Latin whereas in Cyrene, which remained a Greek city, most bases were inscribed in Greek.

The honorific inscription first and foremost bore the honorand's name which was cut at the top of the inscription and most often highlighted by being in larger letters than the rest of the text. Some inscriptions are very brief, containing no more than the name of the honorand and the dedicant while others served to inform the viewer why the honorand was awarded the statue. The inscription might also summarize aspects of the honorand's life, career or character, which could not be expressed in the actual portrait. In this way inscription and portrait supplemented each other. In other words the text contributed to the rhetorical power of the portrait and indicated how the viewer was to perceive the figure portrayed – as a powerful local politician or imperial administrator; as a generous local benefactor; as someone belonging to an important local or senatorial family;⁵³ as a pious priest etc. The choice of praise and the often florid adjectives chosen to characterize the subject emphasized this complementarity.⁵⁴ The text might even stand in contrast to what we see in the portrait, as we have noted in the case of Fundilius. A mid-third century A.D. bust from Bozdogan in Asia Minor also illustrates the trend. It shows a man draped in Greek costume with *chiton* and himation, but the inscription reads as follows: 'Marcus Aurelius Appollonius, son of Tyrannus, public benefactor like his ancestors, and former wearer of the purple'.⁵⁵ It refers to him as having worn the toga with purple stripes (fig. 16). Additional information which could be found on the inscription might include the following: a reference to the location of the statue, and to the cost of erecting it; a mention of how it was paid for (for example by private funding or public collection); the date of its dedication;⁵⁶ who supervised the work; a prescription of what activities would take place in front of it and the benefactions that had earned the patron his statue. Such details are found in numerous inscriptions on both the bases themselves and on inscriptions referring to the honour. When a patron was honoured with multiple statues the inscription on one statue base might make reference to the other portrait statues to be set up.⁵⁷ The inscription might also record the format of statue that had been awarded and the material from which the statue or the inscription was to be constructed. The formats of statues mentioned



Fig. 16
Late Severan bust
of a man in Greek himation inscribed on the
bust foot Μ ΑΥΡ
ΑΙ/ΟΔΔΩΝΙΟ/С
ΤΥΡΑΝ/ΝΟΥ ΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ
ΔΙ/ΑΓΕΝΟΥС ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ
ΠΙΟΡ/ΦΥΡΑС referring to
his career as a Roman
officer. Marble. Height:
0.76 m. Aydin Museum.

are *statua pedester*,⁵⁸ *statua equester*,⁵⁹ and *biga*⁶⁰ and for women the *stolata*.⁶¹ One particularly detailed inscription mentions the awarding of nine statues to Lucius Volusius Saturninus: it delineates not only the different locations around Rome where the statues were to be set up, but also the material of the statues and their different habits.⁶² One may wonder why the material and habit of the statue, which stood on top of the base is mentioned in some inscribed bases when this information is more often omitted. It is possible that the inscription was composed in anticipation of the erection of the statue and/or foreseeing that it could be copied with or without the statue in another setting;⁶³ or that its text could be read aloud. Public honours were regularly announced by the herald before the start of games in the local circus or theatre.⁶⁴ A funerary inscription from Kibyra in Asia Minor describes how the dead, a certain Aelius Antiochianus was honoured by his wife with both a stone sarcophagus and a statue with a base, and states that copies of the epitaph were to be placed in the city archive.⁶⁵ Another explanation may be that it provided a way for the public of showing future benefactors what they would need to do in order to earn a bronze statue and what they should do to obtain a marble one.⁶⁶

In the East the common word for statue is *eikon*, and this term is occasionally included in inscriptions describing the statue itself. *Agalma* (sometimes with *marmarion*) also features but is more rarely used in inscriptions. It has been suggested that the difference in the usage of these two terms should be connected with different functions of the images, whereby *agalma* is used primarily when cultic worship is involved, for instance for statues of Hellenistic kings, heroes and gods. It has also been suggested that *agalma* was used to designate statues made of marble which in the East is a more valuable material and the one usually reserved for gods and heroes. These explanations are however not only highly problematic but also without a secure evidential basis. The most common latin words used for portrait statuary were *statua* and *imago*.⁶⁷

Other honours associated with the awarding of a statue might also be mentioned in the inscription. These could include the fact that an honorand was granted the privilege of choosing his statue's location, or even the wording of the inscription.⁶⁸ The latter case is recorded in a statue for the local magistrate Gaius Hediush Verus from Forum Sempronii in Regio 6, Italy.⁶⁹ When higher officials received these honours, there is some evidence to suggest that a kind of central office would supply to local communities the correct *cursus honorum* (career description) of the honorand. Such an authority would at least explain why an official honoured in two different parts of the Empire appears with an identical *cursus honorum* in both. Similarly, two Greek inscriptions honouring the same official, but in different parts of the Empire, one in Samos and the other in Ephesos, both mention the honorand in the dative, clearly showing an unusual influence of the dative found in Latin inscriptions. This too is suggestive of some kind of centralising authority.⁷⁰

Whether the dedicant was an individual citizen or a civic organization or group, their name would appear at the end of the text. Like the name of the honorand, the dedicant's name could be picked out in large letters. Here we may recall Pliny the Elder's statement that it was almost as prestigious to dedicate a statue as to be awarded one.⁷¹ Finally, there are rare and isolated examples of the name of the artist or the bronze caster being included in the honorific inscription.⁷² In an inscription from Corinth commemorating Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, there is a reference to the artist of the statue being skilled in expressing Regilla's *sophrosyne*.⁷³ Here, however, the name is not mentioned; the reference was made not to emphasise the sculptor's talents but instead to highlight Regilla's *sophrosyne*. Artists' signatures on Roman portraits seem by and large to be confined to the East; when they featured in the West, they are employed mainly by Greek artists.

The literary style and content of the text in honorific inscriptions changed dramatically over time. In the Early and Middle Empire, the language is sober and concentrated on providing information about the career of the honourand, the benefactions he gave to the city, and other relevant achievements as well as noting any important family connections. During the third century and in particular in Late Antiquity the inscriptions are often placed on reused bases.⁷⁴ The lettering becomes shabby and the styles more florid. There is a lack of substantive content, and the *titulus honorarius* or *cursus honorum* is gradually replaced by the epigram.⁷⁵ These developments were already visible in Italy during the second century A.D. They can also be observed in the portrait statues themselves, with luxurious costumes and hairstyles taking precedence over the insignia that would demonstrate rank.⁷⁶

Honorific statues and social status: Who was represented?

Some general traits in the social and political make-up of the patrons represented in the preserved sculpted portraits may be deduced from their insignia, which designate their rank, from their professional costumes, and their headgear (fig. 17).⁷⁷ In contrast, hairstyles and facial expression in general add very little to this question. Some types of statues themselves emphasized the public offices which the honorand held: the cuirassed statue most probably represented a member of the imperial military aristocracy, the gilded equestrian statue one of the high local or imperial elite, while the togatus could depict almost any Roman citizen. Other statue types stressed cultural identity, local patriotism, or intellectual interests. However, beyond a certain point these portraits do not provide further information. I mentioned above that the inscriptions and the habit of the statue both supplemented each other. Thus without the inscription that accompanies it we would probably never have guessed that the togatus (plate 26) represents the freedman and actor Gaius Fundilius. The statue of Fundilius was displayed in a small room in a sanctuary without any public approval. But among those statues set up by public institutions too, the range of social strata from which the honorands may come is notable, in particular during the Early and Middle Empire. We must therefore turn to the inscribed bases which supported the honorific portrait statues to gain a more varied picture of the social and political status of the figures represented in the preserved portraits. Here Elizabeth Forbis' study *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire* is very helpful. Although her main concern is the language of praise in Italian honorific inscriptions, the material compiled comprises the most comprehensive collection of Latin honorific in-

Fig. 17

Statue of a man clad in a lion skin characterizing him as a *signifer* carrying the imperial standards. Remains of a long object in his left hand shows that he would have held the military standard (now missing) high over his head. Found in Massicaut near modern Tunis.

Second quarter of the third century A.D. Marble.

Height: 2.07 m. Tunis, Musées du Bardo.



scriptions to be amassed to date, and therefore forms an excellent basis for our study.⁷⁸ 176 of Forbis' 482 inscriptions (or just over 35%) are either found on statue bases or refer to portrait statues⁷⁹ and several more in the corpus may be included among them.⁸⁰ The social status of almost all 176 honorands can be determined. Chronologically, the series runs from the late first century B.C., when the honorific inscription became a regular feature. It peaks in the second century and the first part of the third century A.D. and the number of such inscriptions decreases dramatically during the second part of the third century, dying out around 300.⁸¹ It should be noted, however, that the reason why there are only few inscriptions from the Republic and Early Empire in this material, is that the use of praise had not yet become common, and

also that the total disappearance of these inscriptions around 300 A.D. does not entail the disappearance of honorific statues in general. Statues were still being dedicated, but in much smaller numbers. Those that were dedicated were primarily in honour of representatives of the imperial administration and of the emperor himself.⁸²

Although the social-make of the honorands may not reflect in detail the general picture because Forbis only includes inscriptions that include praise,⁸³ the variation in the honorands seems representative.⁸⁴ In addition, certain tendencies in the chronological distribution of the honorands' social status can also be deduced. I follow here the two basic social classes as defined by Forbis and Alföldy: 1. The imperial aristocracy, including senators and equestrians with careers in the imperial administration, and 2. the municipal elite, incorporating honorary equestrians, local magistrates and dignitaries, women benefactors, and freedmen.⁸⁵ Based on Forbis' compilation we can conclude that only about 25% of the honorands⁸⁶ belonged to the imperial aristocracy whereas more than 50% of the inscriptions honour members of the municipal elites including honorary equestrians, local magistrates, local benefactors and dignitaries. The majority of the municipals elites who feature – about 50% of them – are equestrian municipals or are municipal magistrates and decurions (fig. 18). In the remaining inscriptions, the figures honoured include other dignitaries and benefactors, women, successful soldiers, freedmen and honorands of unknown status.⁸⁷

The vast majority of honorands of the imperial aristocracy are honoured as formal *patroni* of a municipium; they are rarely described as *patroni* of *collegia* or as non-patrons. Figures from the municipal elite and dignitaries are likewise honoured as municipal patrons, but they also frequently feature as patrons of various religious orders or *collegia*, or as non-patrons i.e. as benefactors. Investigations into the uses of the *patronus* title in the West have shown that while the title was used only by senators during the Republic and Early Empire, it later became common also for equestrians and municipal officials. In its later usage the term was employed as an honorific title rather than to designate a relationship between different members of society; and at the same time it was appropriated by the less prestigious classes.⁸⁸ Inscriptions of male honourands typically describe the stages and successes of their career; the superlative adjectives used in this context frequently include *optimus*, *dignitissimus*, *praestantissimus*, etc., and figure the honorand as an *exemplum* of virtue; words such as *merita*, *beneficia*, *benevolentia* and *bonitas* are indicative of his generosity. Of the 15 inscriptions honouring freedmen, two refer to imperial freedmen,⁸⁹ while ten commemorate *Augustales*.⁹⁰ None of the inscriptions in the corpus commemorate slaves.

Fig. 18a
Histogram showing social make-up of first to third century A.D. portrait inscriptions from Italian municipia based on the inscriptions compiled by Forbis 1996.

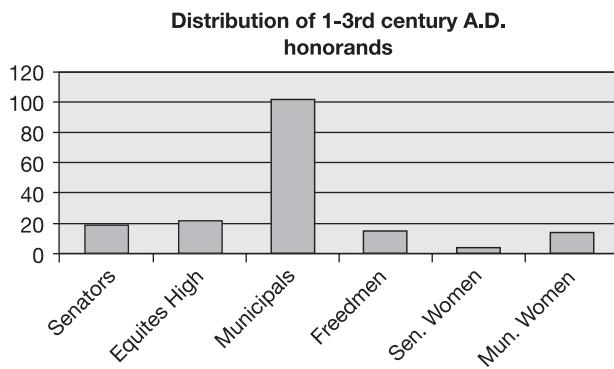
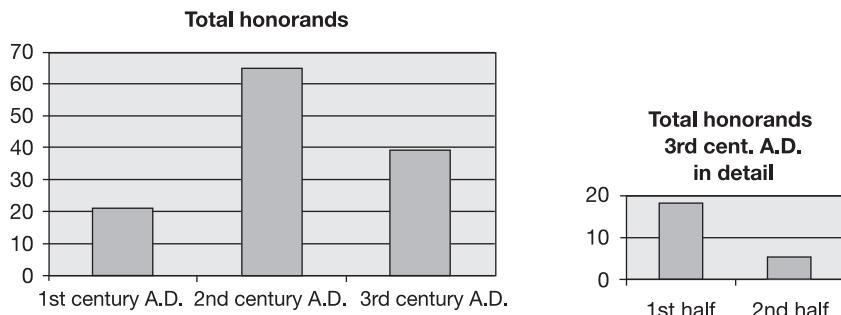


Fig. 18b
Histogram showing chronological distribution of first to third century A.D. portrait inscriptions from Italian municipia based on the inscriptions compiled by Forbis 1996.



18 portrait inscriptions in Forbis' corpus, i.e. about 11% of the total number of extant portrait inscriptions honour women.⁹¹ Six of these honour women of the senatorial or equestrian elite, while the rest honour local elite women.⁹² The former group are described as municipal patronesses as well as patronesses of *collegia* and as priestesses. Women of the local elite are honoured as benefactresses, as municipal patronesses, patronesses of *collegia* and as priestesses in the traditional or imperial cults. Women are praised for their generosity to the community very much in the same way as their male counterparts. Public inscriptions in Italian municipal towns therefore show women playing a very different role to that which is emphasised in private funerary inscriptions for women.⁹³ When immortalised by their family on tombs, as we shall see, women are praised for their domestic virtues in particular for their chastity, good moral behaviour, dedication to housework, marital fidelity and devotion to their children and husband.

In the Roman East women are honoured in public just as rarely as in the West. Women are known to have been benefactresses.⁹⁴ They served as high priestesses in the imperial cult from at least A.D. 54 onwards, a position which had previously been reserved for men; and they could hold the office of *prytanis*, which involved performing various religious

functions as well as the receiving of official guests.⁹⁵ They could qualify to be a *demiourgos*, the annual eponymous magistrate of the city; and there is plenty of evidence for women being honoured as ‘daughters of the city’.⁹⁶ The language, that is found in the honorific inscriptions commemorating women in public in Asia Minor is, however, different from the language found in Italian honorific inscriptions honouring women. Women in Asia Minor are praised for the roles they played in public, but in particular for their domestic roles as matrons. Even Dracilla, the wife of a Roman governor in Perge, who was herself an important benefactress, is characterized only in terms of her affection and fidelity (*sophrosyne* and *philandria*) towards her husband.⁹⁷

This dual vocabulary referring to both the public and the private life of women in the East has been explained as the result of a blending of the private life with the public one.⁹⁸ Perhaps distinctions between women’s private and public roles were less pronounced in the East than in the West in a way which would entailed that women’s private lives were considered to be relevant to the definition of their public image?

One of the main differences between male honorands in the West and the East is the strong presence of athletes in eastern statuary inscriptions. It is a general assumption that the Romans were more interested in the spectacles provided by the arena than in physical exercise. Roman authors are quite hostile towards Greek athletes. Cicero, for instance, records that Pompey recognized that he had wasted both ‘oil and effort’ on the athletes in the celebrations at the opening of his theatre. Even though this picture has been partly revised, it does appear to be the case that in the West athletes did not play any significant role.⁹⁹ The tradition in the West of erecting portrait statues in sporting facilities seems already to have died out during the Early Empire. Emphasis was placed on the benefactor sponsoring the games rather than the athletes themselves. When images of athletes were included in the sculptural displays of villa gardens, for example, they consisted of representations of ideal types rather than portraits of real men, and their main purpose was to evoke the atmosphere of the Greek palaestra.¹⁰⁰ In the Roman East, however, where the typically Greek institutions of the gymnasium and the agonistic festivals with athletic and artistic competitions still played an important role in local society, the number of athletes and performers honoured with statues in public is striking. Statues of athletes were fully integrated into the urban landscape in the Roman East and numerous statues were also set up in the cities of Asia Minor in honour of the (mostly local) athletes who had been victorious in athletic games in the local gymnasia.¹⁰¹ In Oinoandra in Lydia, for instance, visitors to the city encountered a statue of the local wrestler Poplius Sthenius Fronto right at the entrance. Statues of victors were set up in the

Fig. 19
Statue of the boxer Piseas, son of Piseas found in the theatre of Aphrodisias. The tense muscles and scarred face bear witness to his profession. Ca. A.D. 200. Marble. Height (excluding plinth): 1.74 m. Aphrodisias Museum.

Fig. 20
Youth wearing *chlamys*. This ideal type of statuary body (and head if preserved) reflecting fourth century B.C. Greek works may depict a 'real' victorious athlete. From the theatre in Corinth. Marble. Height: 1.05 m. Corinth Museum.



Fig. 21
Statue of the athlete Kleoneikos with belonging? inscribed base from the gymnasium in Eretria. On the statue support is a pair of boxing-gloves, *episphairai*. Marble. Height of statue with plinth and excluding base: 2.03 m. Athens, National Museum.



Fig. 22
Detail of the statue support with *episphairai* (boxing-gloves) of the statue of Kleoneikos
Fig. 21.



agora and in the so-called esplanade, along with statues of the city's benefactors.¹⁰² Other cities such as Perge and Side in Pamphylia attest to something similar. Both cities boast several statue bases scattered across the city, and in the palaestra of the baths there are statues commemorating runners and wrestlers who had been victorious in different games (without falling to the ground once).¹⁰³ A pair of third century A.D. nude statues from the theatre in Aphrodisias have recently been associated with bases which inform us that the statues represent the boxers Piseas and Candidianus (fig. 19 and plate 3). Their statues display tense musculature and impressive physiques, but the scarred faces reveal that the men represented are no longer in their youth.¹⁰⁴ In spite of the large number of statue bases commemorating athletes, the two statues from Aphrodisias are among the few athletic statues to have survived. An explanation for this discrepancy between extant bases and statues may be that statues of athletes were usually made of bronze, and have therefore not survived. Bronze was no doubt used to represent athletes but I find it quite likely that athletes are simply not easily recognizable among the surviving sculptural material. One reason for this is that some naked statues which have been classified as 'ideal statues' reflecting Greek classical originals, may in fact have commemorated real young athletes who had been victorious. In contrast to the two Aphrodisian statues, which show mature experienced (that is scarred) men, the majority of the athletes honoured in statue bases were youths (fig. 20).¹⁰⁵ Perhaps naked idealized statues served best as icons of youth and physical strength.¹⁰⁶ Another factor which should not be overlooked is that with the increasing influence of the representation of the civic benefactor, nudity may gradually have lost its attraction. Evidence from Greek gymnasiums suggests that by the late second century B.C. some victorious athletes preferred to be represented as ordinary citizens, dressed in himation, such as Kleoneikos from the gymnasium in Eretria.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, there may have been a choice for athletic victors as to which aspect of their role in society the statues would express (fig. 21–22).

There were other honorands of strong local relevance. This can be observed, for instance, in Palmyra where the people honoured the caravan leader Soadu with four bronze statues in A.D. 134. Soadu had successfully defended a caravan, saving travellers and goods. His statues were placed in prominent locations in Palmyra, one being displayed on a column and another on a console on a column.¹⁰⁸

The second century saw the highest number of honorands and the largest social variation amongst them in Italian municipia. These developments should probably be viewed in the light of two main factors: firstly, the honorific statue was an important aesthetic feature in the luxuriously adorned public spaces of municipal towns. Secondly there

was a growing concern for the financial upkeep of municipalities, and consequently a need for willing benefactors. The possibility of being awarded an honorific statue encouraged potential benefactors.¹⁰⁹ It is during this period that the local aristocracy and local benefactors dominate the cityscape with their portrait statuary. Forbis has demonstrated that expressions of praise in inscriptions crossed all social and political boundaries. This is in contrast to the naming of prominent ancestors, and highlighting of impressive public careers which were the reserve of the privileged few. The increasingly common usage of the *patronus* title, previously so prestigious, amongst the lower classes, confirms this tendency. Changes in the usage of *patronus* may be related to changes in visual symbols too. During the later first and second century, symbols of rank such as the wearing of the matronal *stola* and the *clavi* on the tunica gradually lost their significance. The depiction of insignia expressing rank was replaced by an interest in sophisticated and luxurious clothing and hairstyles. This culminated, though not immediately, in the *elegantia* praised by Antonine authors, a style which was independent of rank.¹¹⁰ Patrons who were excluded from the ranks of the nobility were able to buy themselves into public honours with generous donations. In second-century Puteoli the imperial freedman L. Aurelius Pylades who as a pantomime held one of the most disgraceful occupations of the day, was honoured for his benefactions, probably not with a statue but with the decurionate and joint-mayorship.¹¹¹ There is a significant drop in the number of honorific inscriptions set up during the third century. When we learn that 23 out of the total number of 39 inscriptions erected in the third century can be more closely dated the drop becomes even more striking: only five of the inscriptions date to the second half while 18 date to the first half of the third century, showing that with the end of the Severan period the honorific statue was no longer in fashion and that dedicatory practices had changed. This is a phenomenon not confined to the Italian cities but a similar drop in the production of honorific statues and inscriptions in general can be observed during more or less the same period across the Empire.¹¹² The social make-up of honorands was also much more limited. Local dignitaries were still honoured, but public spaces were now dominated by images of a cosmopolitan political elite composed of senators, proconsuls and governors.¹¹³ Not only were fewer statues dedicated, but they were often set up on reused bases and made with reused statuary bodies.¹¹⁴ The texts on the bases were much less carefully engraved than before, and the traditional *tituli* inscriptions were replaced by epigrams. Thus, this fundamental change in practices relating to statuary dedications is not only to be observed in the social composition of the honorands and in the text of the inscription, but also in the visual repre-

sentation of the statue itself.¹¹⁵ The traditional toga was replaced by the new so-called East-Roman toga, and the portrait itself underwent important alterations. The veristic style had aspired towards a certain degree of honesty concerning the real appearance of the patron, and had characterized the Roman portrait for almost five hundred years, from the Late Republic into the late third century A.D. This was replaced by a style in which a preference for abstract forms gradually prevailed over any attempt at visual accuracy.

The reason for these developments is not clear. Some scholars have explained the phenomenon by placing it within the general framework of the economic and social crisis that took place in the third century A.D. Others see it as the manifestation of a preference for self-representation in the private rather than in the public sphere: the elite now favoured busts and miniatures over monumental statuary, and private houses instead of public spaces as venues for self-representation. Still others see the decline in the light of the fact that local magistrates lost access to offices, and local benefactors lost interest in public building works, such as the baths. While local benefactors were the main dedicators of baths during the second century A.D. and before, local authorities show an opposite distribution.¹¹⁶ Commitment to public affairs was often rewarded with an honorific statue, as we shall see, and instead benefactors concentrated their efforts on funding games, spectacles and performances.¹¹⁷ In a recent article, Borg and Witschel draw attention to the fact that the change was not a sudden one. Rather, they argue, it is part of a gradual alteration in the mentality of benefactors: performances and games suited the quickly changing political situations better than monumental buildings and statues.¹¹⁸ Whatever the reason, the role which the honorific statue had long held altered dramatically. For nearly five hundred years, being awarded a statue had been considered as the highest honour a citizen could hope for, since it meant that he (or she) would be visible for future generations as an ideal citizen and benefactor and ‘ancestor’ of the city. The prospect of this honour had led to competition amongst wealthier citizens, as they strove to outdo each other in providing benefactions. City governments in turn had exploited this desire for public recognition, perceiving in it a way of securing the city’s economic upkeep. However, by the third century A.D. it is clear that the circumstances which had led to these statuary practices no longer obtained.

Regarding the preserved sculpted portraits erected in public during the Early and Middle Empire, it can be assumed that well over 50% of them, in both the West and the East, represent local figures. Among the local elite magistrates, priests and benefactors are the most frequently honoured in the western as well as the eastern part of the Empire.¹¹⁹

But sophists, other intellectuals,¹²⁰ athletes and even actors whose profession was considered dishonourable were also honoured with statues.¹²¹

A large proportion of the remaining portraits – about 25% of them – represent senatorial aristocrats and their wives. These may be identified amongst the portraits preserved in ever increasing numbers, of which copies (often more than one) were made; such copies are often found in different parts of the Empire.¹²² Similarly, inscriptions found in different parts of the Empire record exactly the same *cursus honorum* of an honorand. Judging from this evidence, it seems to have been the case that the production of these copies involved getting hold of the necessary model for the portrait and inscription, and also that there was a routine in local communities when it came to honouring the senatorial aristocracy.¹²³ Indeed, as we will see, most of the statues awarded to the senatorial aristocrats were set up to them in their capacity as municipal patrons, without any mention in the inscription of a particular reason for the dedication. It is probable that the social and political pre-eminence of aristocrats was a sufficient motive, and often the only one, for their receiving a statue. With about 10,000 to 20,000 imperial officials stationed around the Empire to govern a population of fifty to sixty million, the function of these portraits would have been to act as substitute for the official himself, just as the portrait of the emperor did.¹²⁴ In Athens in the second quarter of the first century A.D., a statue was set up to the vestal virgin Vibidia who would never have left Rome.¹²⁵ Dio Chrysostom is in general very critical of monumental honours such as honorific statues and therefore a problematic source for these issues. But his critique of the Rhodians may nevertheless contain a grain of truth. In his 31st *Rhodian Oration* he says that too many Roman governors, officials and passers-by were honoured in Rhodes because the local administration felt obliged to do so through a fear of losing the goodwill of Rome.¹²⁶ Although dedicated by local authorities and in the Greek language, their typically Roman costumes would have meant that these statues stood out more prominently than they did in the West. But equestrians, local benefactors and magistrates and even freedmen were also honoured with numerous statues in their home towns.¹²⁷ In Herculaneum the senator and proconsul Balbus was honoured with numerous statues depicting him in a variety of statuary formats and modes (discussed below p. 218). In Barcelona, a freedman L. Licinius Secundus who had had an impressive career, was honoured with 20 statues by both official and private dedicators.¹²⁸ In Perge in Asia Minor, the benefactress Plancia Magna was honoured with at least five statues in her home town,¹²⁹ and in Ephesos a man who was probably a prominent benefactor or political personality is known from his three portraits. Two of these represent him with a crown, which identifies him as a giver of



Fig. 23
This group of gilded bronze statues found by Cartoceto near Pergola in Marche, Italy, probably depicts an aristocratic family of the Late Republic. Estimated height of the equestrian statues: 2.4 m. Pergola, Museo dei Bronzi Dorati.

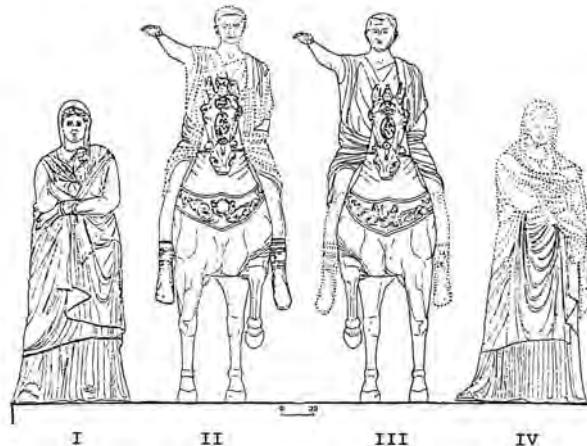


Fig. 24
Hypothetical reconstruction of the setting of the bronze figures found secondarily buried near Cartoceto.

games. In the third he has no headgear and is clothed in a *chiton* and himation.¹³⁰ The man represented in the three Ephesian portraits evidently had a reputation which reached beyond Ephesos. We know this because a further copy has been found in the villa of Herodes Atticus at Luku on the Peloponnesus.¹³¹

Family groups were probably not uncommon but because the statues were almost always set up on separate bases they are difficult to identify in both the epigraphic and the sculptural material. However, the discovery of a number of statuary groups from public spaces shows that private citizens also favoured family groups (figs. 23–24).¹³² Furthermore, it is likely that of the significant number of inscriptions honouring Roman women for the benefactions of their male relatives, many were part of family groups, placed alongside their male relatives.¹³³

We may compare the social composition of the honourands of municipal Italy with that of the provinces. In Tarraco and elsewhere the picture is by and large the same as in Italy. Statues honouring local magistrates and dignitaries greatly outnumber those honouring members of the imperial aristocracy and many officials with municipal careers were also honoured as *flamines*. This shows that service to the imperial cult was an important element in the competition that surrounded the granting of a statue; the unusually large group of inscriptions honouring military persons in Tarraco features no doubt because of the presence of a legion there.¹³⁴ The same goes for the early imperial period in Asia Minor.¹³⁵

But the pattern outlined above does not account for the vast number of portraits of the first to early third centuries A.D. found in Rome which fill European museums. Portraits of private citizens were, it seems, not dominant in the public spaces of Rome, as these areas were gradually reserved for imperial programmes.¹³⁶ After his death in A.D. 56 the Roman senator L. Volusius Saturninus received no less than nine statues, which were positioned strategically around the city of Rome on important religious and political spots. This certainly seems to have been an exception and the statues may have been removed again in the Flavian period.¹³⁷ With the exception of the praetorian prefects and such rare cases as that of Volusius Saturninus,¹³⁸ most of the portraits of sitters belonging to the aristocracy in Rome were probably displayed in spaces like buildings of *collegia*, or their own houses, villas and properties or else in those of friends and relatives. Several if not many of the figures represented in the portraits were probably of the senatorial aristocracy like the Volusii Saturnii, or were family or friends of the imperial household. Roman senators and their families were bound to Rome for a large part of their early career. They were very careful about their self-representation, even in their houses.¹³⁹ Likewise, a series of portrait types which in physiognomy resemble members of the imperial family, have been tentatively identified as sisters, cousins or other relatives.¹⁴⁰ In Late Antiquity the aristocracy continued to set up images of themselves in their residences but portraits of senators now featured prominently in the public sphere, too. Several honorific inscriptions found in the Forum Romanum and the imperial fora honour senators of the fourth century.¹⁴¹

As we have seen above, honorific inscriptions give us some idea about the social status of male as well as female patrons; but they are almost always silent about their age or in what stage of their life or afterlife the statues were awarded.¹⁴² An exception is a group of inscriptions in Volubilis in Mauretania mentioning the age of prematurely deceased local magistrates. These inscriptions are, however, all set up by family mem-

bers and convincingly interpreted by Werner Eck as a compensation for the interrupted public career.¹⁴³ We can imagine what these statues looked like from the so-called Acilia sarcophagus dated between A.D. 230–240. It shows a young boy without beard in full senatorial equipment – possibly the parents' comfort and compensation for the short life and interrupted career of their son (plate 2).¹⁴⁴ Usually, however we do not know how old the patrons were or whether they were still alive when the statues were awarded or set up. Some of the statues may honour children or very young persons while others were granted only after the patron had passed away. Neither inscriptions nor the various modes of representation give any information regarding these issues.¹⁴⁵ But unless it is explicitly mentioned that the honour was posthumous, it seems to be a general assumption that honorific statues were awarded while the honorands were still alive. This was surely also the case when a statue was awarded as an immediate response to a benefaction; but it may not always have been the case for statues granted without any indication of the reason for the award. Indeed there is strong evidence against this assumption. Numerous inscriptions mention the granting of one or more statues together with other honours that are definitely posthumous, such as a public funeral,¹⁴⁶ and Dio Chrysostom mentions cases of this kind.¹⁴⁷ I find it likely, therefore, that a significant proportion of the honorific statues were in fact awarded posthumously. One inscription even lists the statues and *clipeatae* which the honorand was awarded while still alive and notes those which he was to receive posthumously.¹⁴⁸ In addition, I want to draw attention to a particular pattern amongst the posthumously awarded statues from municipal towns.¹⁴⁹ All of the posthumous statues documented in the collection compiled by Forbis were of members of the lower equestrian order, local magistrates, local dignitaries and freedmen.¹⁵⁰ This implies that the politically important members of the imperial aristocracy could be sure about their honours, whereas locals had to fight much harder to get their statue and sometimes, perhaps often, had to wait until their death.¹⁵¹ Most of the posthumously granted statues were probably displayed in a public space, and the city was also sometimes involved in the construction of tombs and their adornments with images.¹⁵²

Dedicators: who set up the portraits?

According to Pliny the Younger, the honour associated with dedicating a statue was as great as that associated with having one's own statue set up. No doubt it is the groups of statues dedicated by private citizens rather than those dedicated by the different sectors of the population

(or political and administrative bodies) in provincial cities that Pliny has in mind.¹⁵³ Just as being honoured by a member of the elite added status to the honorand, so did it bestow prestige upon the dedicato^r.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, public administrative bodies do account for almost half of the dedications. The public bodies which acted as dedicants of statues were either municipal groups like the *cives*, *municipes*, *vicani*, *res publica* or the *plebs*, or political organizations such as the *ordines*, *senatus* or *decuriones*. In Rome it was the Senate. There were a variety of ways in which the public could dedicate a statue. It could act as sole dedicato^r or as dedicant according to a decree of the *decuriones DD*, *decreto decurionum*. Whether the public in these cases also took on the expenses for erecting the statues remains uncertain. The public may also commission someone to oversee the construction of the work (as in the dedication to Gaius Didius Saturninus discussed p. 70) Occasionally inscriptions mention explicitly that public money *PP*, *pecunia publica*, is funding the dedication. In other cases when the public dedicated the statue or awarded the honour it was either paid for by collection or by a private person, a family member, for instance.¹⁵⁵ It was considered polite – if not expected – that the honorand himself would in gratitude assume, fully or in part, the expenses of erecting the statue.¹⁵⁶ In municipal towns in Italy, public dedications account for almost half of the total honorific dedications whereas ca. 15% were dedicated by individuals and ca. 19% by professional organizations, in particular *collegia*. Groups of citizens would dedicate statues to honorands of any of the social groups in municipal towns but they were particularly active in their dedications to local magistrates and dignitaries. When they awarded honours to members of the imperial aristocracy, whether according to the *DD* or not, they almost always acted as sole dedicato^rs. Political organizations – the *ordines*, *decuriones* and the *senatus* – also awarded honours to all social groups, but honourands from the imperial aristocracy in their role as municipal patrons play the most prominent role. This social group is also dominant in the dedications made by private citizens. Typical among the private dedicato^rs are family relatives like wives, sons and daughters or *amici* reflecting *amicitia* between social unequals.¹⁵⁷ The *collegia*, either religious or craftsmen's guilds, primarily dedicated statues to local figures, often in their role as patron of the *collegium* in question. Dedicants may also be of purely local relevance. One example of this is a statue that was erected in A.D. 24 to a certain Makichos in the important trade and caravan city of Palmyre by 'all the merchants who are in the city of Babylon';¹⁵⁸ likewise, a number of statues were dedicated by soldiers in the province of Arabia where a garrison was based.¹⁵⁹ Even the emperor might act as dedicato^r in Heliopolis, Hadrian himself granted the honour of a public horse

to a certain M. Licinius Pompenna Potitus.¹⁶⁰ The *Augustales* normally dedicated statues to locals. Finally there are examples of provinces and military divisions acting as dedicants of statues to imperial and local magistrates. In a number of cases the dedicator, whether public or private, commissioned a statue but applied to the local senate for permission to be allowed to set it up in a public space; the inscription would record that the statue was awarded according to *Locus Datus Decreto Decurionum*. Dedications by private citizens without this formula were probably displayed in a private or quasi-private space as for example a *schola*.

In both the far western and eastern Latin speaking parts of the Empire statues were dedicated very much along the same lines as in the municipal towns of Italy. In the eastern provinces too, it is the *boule* and/or the *demos*, the inhabitants of the city, the *polis*, the *metropolis*, the *gerousia*, and the *phyle*, that are responsible for most of the statues dedicated. In Ancyra for example, Tiberius Iulius Iustus Iunianus, a high-ranking local official is honoured three times. Each statue was supported by an identical profiled round base carrying the same inscription (and on one occasion identical types of statue?). The only difference between the round bases is that the dedications were made by three different tribes in Ancyra. It can therefore be assumed that all twelve tribes set up identical inscriptions and statues.¹⁶¹ Priests and private persons account for the majority of the dedications. Private organizations also often functioned as dedicants of the public statues in the East.¹⁶² In rare cases the wider community acted as a dedicator: for instance when 'The Greeks in Asia' dedicate a statue in Pergamon.¹⁶³ This pattern amongst dedicants remained more or less unchanged until the end of the third century, when it is almost exclusively the city that acts as dedicator.¹⁶⁴

While these general dedicatory practices inform us about the dynamics governing the relationship between dedicator and honorand in local communities, we do not learn much about personal aspects of this relationship. Just as each city had its favourite honorands, for example the most generous of its benefactors, it also had its generous dedicants who assumed the economic burden of setting up honorific statues. Very often there were personal and local motives behind the commissioning of a statue.¹⁶⁵

We saw a change in the social composition amongst honorands during Late Antiquity. Changes in dedicatory practices also took place. These now became more restricted. In Rome the Senate as an institution was no longer responsible for the dedication of honorific statues. The dedication of statues of city magistrates was now taken care of by the emperor while city magistrates, in particular the *prefectus urbi*, dedicated statues of the emperor.¹⁶⁶ This new exchange of statues between the

emperor and the city officials in Rome meant that the part played by the emperor was reduced. Responsibility for dedications of his image was returned to the city leaders again. In the East, though, the city and the *boule* continued to be the principal dedicators of statues of both the emperor and of governors.

How to earn a portrait statue: personal expectations, public affirmation and audience responses

In provincial cities the public, predominantly in the form of the senate or council, had different ways of honouring its deserving citizens. We may recall Dio's remarks that the love of his fellow citizens was more important to him than statues, proclamations or seats of honour. No doubt, however, this was an exceptionally modest attitude and many citizens probably worked hard to receive public honours. According to Dio some worked so hard that their efforts led to financial ruin.¹⁶⁷ A series of inscriptions from Cyrenaica provides an insight into the different kinds of honours that the council might bestow on its citizens: some were honoured with an invitation to a public meal, others were awarded a seat in the *proedria* of the theatre, an honorific inscription, or a statue.¹⁶⁸ Other honours included a golden crown, the proclamation of deeds, or a state funeral, but at the top of the hierarchy as the most desired honour was the honorific statue. Such honours as these were universal in the Roman world. The (relative) homogeneity in dedicatory practices relating to honorific statues throughout the Empire was the result of the fact that the universal values of honour, personal visibility and the perpetuation of one's memory in public were always considered important. Because the significance of the honorand's role in the local community was immediately highlighted by the erection of these statues, competition amongst the benefactors to have their images set up in the public space was fierce. I see the large number of inscriptions mentioning the precise range and scale of the benefactions which honorands had presented to the city in order to be given a statue as confirmation for this competitive aspect.

We have already seen that the majority of the statuary inscriptions dedicated to members of the imperial aristocracy were set up to honour them as patrons; often there was no reference to any specific reason for the dedication.¹⁶⁹ However, when an explanation is given, it normally stresses that the statue was awarded to show gratitude towards the honorand for his diplomatic or administrative services to the city. In Tergeste, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the senator Lucius Fabius Severus was honoured with a gilded equestrian statue for services to the

city that include “his tireless labour as legate, advocate and benefactor to the town”.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, financial benefactions are mentioned only rarely. It is possible that members of the imperial aristocracy in service in municipal towns were almost routinely honoured with a statue by the local councils or other public organizations.¹⁷¹ As mentioned above, Dio, in his critique of the Rhodians, raises the issue of excessive honours, suggesting that the Rhodians honoured too many governors out of fear of Rome. Officials could be popular or the contrary. An inscription dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius honouring the prefect of Sala in Mauretania mentions a series of new honours which the city awarded him for his good work when he was about to leave office “... to offer hope of similar treatment to those of his successors who in the future may act similarly ...”.¹⁷²

Members of the local elites earned their statues by other means.¹⁷³ Inscriptions reveal the great variety of ways in which a statue could be earned: assisting the city in political negotiations,¹⁷⁴ securing or taking care of the supply of grain;¹⁷⁵ other paths to the requisite fame included being a credit to the city through acts of bravery in war¹⁷⁶ or being victorious in athletic contests.¹⁷⁷ But the vast majority of the local honorands were granted their statue in return for financial generosity towards the city.¹⁷⁸ Personal motives, or the hope of getting something in return probably lay behind the setting up of the majority of honorific statues in provincial towns. If a citizen showed generosity towards the city, the assumption was that in return a statue of him would be set up in a public place. This transformation of real capital into symbolic capital played an essential part in the social and economic life of a city. It only worked because it was predicated on shared values, amongst which the importance of public honour was supreme.¹⁷⁹ Provincial cities were highly dependent on gifts from benefactors. The system of liturgies, the willingness of the local elite to contribute financially or by taking on services in form of public offices, was essential to the upkeep of a town. Honorands typically financed or partly financed public construction or restoration works, gave public games, feasts, *spotulae*, small or larger sums of money, or land. For example, Gnaeus Voesius Aper is honoured with a statue by the community of Praeneste not only for his services as *curator annonae* and *curator muneric publici gladiatori* but also because he provided the land and oversaw the construction of a gladiatorial school and a *spoliarium* (an area set aside for stripping the equipment of dead gladiators).¹⁸⁰ This information, recorded on the honorific inscription, served two main purposes. Firstly it would highlight the prominence of the benefactor and his family, and would emphasise the importance of his social position in the town. Secondly, it provided a means for the public of communicating to fellow citizens

information about how they could earn an honorific statue (see the inscription from Pegae below p. 53f. epitomizing this tendency). This honour could clearly be gained on a financial basis, independent of rank. It was a powerful contribution to the social position of the honorand in the city. Emphasising the scale of the benefaction would pointedly set the standard for future benefactions. These practices fuelled the competitiveness amongst the elite. By highlighting the generosity of some benefactors, the city encouraged others to be equally liberal in their donations, or (better) even more so. An inscription from Leptis Magna recording the reward of a *biga* to the duovir Plautius Lupus to be placed wherever he wanted, explicitly mentions that the reason for honouring him is to stimulate others to do the same.¹⁸¹ Depending on the honorand's social status the statues might be granted as posthumous honours. Having one's memory perpetuated in public was of such importance that benefactors gave benefactions just for the honour of being awarded a statue after death.

The administrative bodies of the city welcomed this competition among its citizens. The city could choose to honour all its benefactors equally, or could single out just a few. There was probably just as much tension between the administrative bodies of the city and the citizens, as there was amongst citizens themselves. Prominent citizens had strong personal expectations and strong feelings about their political and economic influence. Their public self-representation was very important to them. These interrelated concerns could only be affirmed by the public. But the public had to follow certain rules (though probably unwritten ones) in awarding a statue, designating its location, and choosing the material and guise in which it would be represented. This must have led to conflicts and tensions between the public bodies and the honorands or the citizens who were not honoured with a statue. In addition, some citizens had to suffice with other kinds of honours or none at all, despite their possibly generous benefactions.¹⁸² When some patrons, like for example Balbus in Herculaneum were honoured with several statues,¹⁸³ or when a benefactor had so much power that he could demand a new statue every seventh year from the interest on the sum of money which he had given, such feelings were amplified.¹⁸⁴ An incident is recorded, from Praeneste, where the decurions had to give in to the general public demand for setting up a statue of a popular actor.¹⁸⁵

We can glean some impression of how important the award of a statue was to a citizen from the following inscription: in 172 A.D. Marcus Gellius Servandus, a *Servir Augustalis* of Capena became so excited with his statue that he established an additional bequest ordaining that on his birthday cash distributions would be made and his statue would be decorated.¹⁸⁶ This was not an exceptional case. As I have argued above,

it was considered gracious, if not actually expected, that the honorand himself would assume a portion of the expenses connected with the setting up of his statue. An inscription from Ausugum in Northern Italy testifies to the jealousy and envy a gilded statue could arouse amongst citizens. The name of the honorand is lost but the envy to which he was exposed is clear: "They made me a gilded statue with money produced from all sides. Great envy grew from the honour; the citizens, as if they were masters, attempted to drive their patron into exile."¹⁸⁷

Location: where were the portraits set up?

On a wide geographical scale provincial capitals like Taracco in Hispania Teracconensis and Ephesos in Asia were important locations where not just the imperial aristocracy but also the provincial elites might have their statues displayed.¹⁸⁸ Specific parts of the city, in particular the forum, were considered particularly desirable and prestigious places in which one's statue might be located. There were, however, strong local preferences. In Aphrodisias in Caria most of the honorific statues were concentrated in the portico in front of the *bouleuterion*, in the forecourt of the Hadrianic baths, and in the theatre. This is probably because these buildings played a central role in local city life.¹⁸⁹ In Ephesos many statue bases have been found by the city's agorai. In late antique Ephesos, however, the places traditionally favoured for the location of honorific statues were superseded by the Embolos, the colonnaded street, demonstrating that spaces changed importance during that period.¹⁹⁰

The best impression of the visual role which honorific statuary played in the cityscape is gained from paintings and reliefs. Frescos from the *triclinium* of the Farnesina villa depict an imaginary city adorned with ideal and portrait statues, such as an equestrian statue standing on top of a fountain building.¹⁹¹ A small relief from the *lararium* in the house of Caecilius Jucundus, Regio V 1,26 in Pompeii shows two equestrian statues in the forum of Pompeii tottering on their high bases during the earthquake in A.D. 62;¹⁹² and a painted mural from the *praedium* of Julia Felix also in Pompeii, shows three equestrian statues displayed against a columned facade, perhaps one of the porticos of the forum (fig. 25). The statues function as a backdrop for what seem to be public announcements, traced on a board in front.¹⁹³ Honorific statues blended naturally into the cityscape, which at the same time they enriched and enhanced. They were aesthetically pleasing,¹⁹⁴ and effort was therefore taken to incorporate them harmoniously into the general architectural setting of the city. They might also constitute important (sometimes structural) elements in the architecture, as with the equestrian statues

Fig. 25
Wall painting from the *praedium* of Julia Felix in Regio II,4,3 in Pompeii showing equestrian statues in the forum. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



of Celsus which flank the stairs of the entrance to his library and tomb in Ephesus (fig. 26).¹⁹⁵ On their high bases, honorific statues lined the porticos of squares, lined the main streets, adorned both the architectural facades and the interiors of buildings, and were displayed in buildings as part of particular sculptural programmes, such as *nymphaea*. However, the aesthetic appeal was far from being the only consideration to be taken into account when decisions regarding the location of the honorific statue were made. Proximity to other statues, whether of deities, personifications or mortals might lend a different slant to the way(s) in which an honorific statue could be interpreted. Different locations and architectural settings not only gave further distinctive information about the honorific statue, whether political, ancestral and religious; in addition, variation in location also served to distinguish the honorands from each other.¹⁹⁶ The spot in which the statue would be set up was chosen by the dedicant. When this was a private citizen it usually had to be approved by the city administration, *Locus Datus Decreto Decurionum*, as the inscriptions record. This allocation was also dependent on a number of other factors such as the rank and social position of the patron and the scale of his (or her) benefaction.



Fig. 26
Equestrian statues of
T. Iulius Celsus Pole-
maeanus, consul in A.D.
92, adorned the staircase
to his library in Ephesus.

The first known Roman woman to have her statue dedicated, the renowned Vestal Virgin Taracia Gaia (also called Fufetia), was granted the privilege of choosing the spot for her public statue, “an addition”, according to Pliny the Elder, “that is as great a compliment as the fact that a statue was decreed in honour of a woman”.¹⁹⁷ Several inscriptions from around the Empire mention this additional privilege, where the free choice of location is connected with the awarding of a statue.¹⁹⁸ It was a privilege also known in the past in the East in the Hellenistic¹⁹⁹ and Republican periods. An inscription from c. 60 B.C. from Pegae on mainland Greece tells of one benefactor Soteles, who gave a large sum of money for the maintenance of an annual dance in his local town:

And in addition to this, when we (the council) were wanting to give honour to Soteles and to set up his statue, appearing in the council and observing that the public funds were under pressure, he undertook to meet the expense of the statue and of its erection out of his own pocket, desiring thoroughly to please the citizens. And in order that the city might incur no expense on his account, when he set up the statue he sacrificed to all the gods and gave a dinner to all the citizens and residents [paroikoi] and to the Romans residing with us and to the slaves of all these and their sons and the slaves' children. In order then that others also may emulate such deeds for the advantage of the city, it was resolved ... to commend Soteles, son of Kallinikos, for his goodwill and generous spirit, which he has shown unfailingly from his earliest youth, and to set up his statue wherever he wishes, in

Fig. 27

East side of the forum in Timgad with large statue bases for equestrian statues and quadrigas dedicated to Roman emperors. This side of the forum from which there was access to the basilica was restricted to imperial representation.



the most prominent place in the market, and to inscribe it thus: 'The people of Pegae [honours] Soteles, son of Kallinikos [its benefactor] for his goodwill and reverent spirit towards the gods, so that [all may know that the men of Pagai know how to honour those showing a generous spirit towards them]. And let the herald of the council summon him to a place of precedence, and his descendants ...'²⁰⁰

Although the granting of a free choice of location had a long history in both the East and in Rome, as in the case of Fufetia, most portrait inscriptions provide no information about where the statue was displayed (figs. 27–28). When a specific spot is designated it is almost exclusively the forum. Only very rarely are other locations mentioned.²⁰¹ The forum was no doubt the most prestigious and politically the most important place in which one's honorific statue could be displayed. It was the heart of the city, its most busy and politically most significant spot, and commemorations of figures of the greatest value to the city were concentrated here – the statues of emperors, deities, personifications and heroes. But even in the forum some spots were considered to be more honourable than others.²⁰² This was the case for the fora of provincial towns as well as for the Forum Romanum in Rome. In the early tradition the rostra was the place where envoys who had been killed in the service of the *res publica* had their under life-size statues set up (*tripedanea*, three feet in height). And there is plenty of literary evidence for the areas near the rostra and the *comitium* being perceived as the most attractive parts of the Forum Romanum in Rome.²⁰³ In Ferentinum in Regio 1 an inscription records that a certain equester Aulus Quintilius received the additional privilege of choosing the spot which his statue would occupy on the forum and in Tergeste in Regio 10 the inscription on a large base records how the senator Lucius Fabius had his gilded equestrian



Fig. 28
Statue bases *in situ* in front of the pilasters adorning the interior of the basilica in Timgad.

statue set up in the busiest part of the city's forum (*in celeberrima parte*).²⁰⁴ Most of the statues in the forum were of standing male figures. In the West, it was, however, the equestrian statues, which were sometimes placed in the open space of the square rather than the flanks of the porticos, that visually dominated the forum. Only senators had the privilege of this *locus celeberrimus* for their equestrian statues.²⁰⁵ Investigations into the preserved statue bases from the forum in two cities in Numidia in North Africa, Cuicul and Thamugadi (modern Djemila and Timgad) have yielded a similar picture. Firstly, most of the statue bases honouring emperors and their families were concentrated in the forum, leaving little space for private citizens. Secondly, statues of private citizens in the forum of Cuicul were on a smaller scale than the imperial ones, and they were cramped together on the short south side. The long western side was dominated by large imperial statues and the east side with a mix of personifications and imperial statues, with the imperial statues being concentrated around the entrance to the curia (see plate 40).²⁰⁶ Bergemann has pointed out that the statues set up on the most important spots also seem to be bigger in size.²⁰⁷ Other major public squares, markets or even possibly streets, followed as important spots for the display of honorific statues, dependent on the local situation. In Termessos in Psidia the most prominent location in the city was next to the Stoa of Attalos where Atlante, a generous second century A.D. benefactress was honoured with a bronze statue and a golden crown, as an inscription informs us.²⁰⁸ In Aphrodisias, as mentioned above, statues were concentrated in the double *stoa* in front of the *bouleuterion*, in the forecourt of the Hadrianic baths and the theatre.²⁰⁹ The inscription found in the villa of the Volusii outside Rome at Lucus Feroniae apparently

Fig. 29
Columns with consoles which once carried honorific statues on the main colonnaded street in Palmyra.



copies an inscription in the Forum Romanum. It mentions the different locations in which a total of nine statues posthumously awarded to L. Volusius Saturninus were to be set up, and gives an impression of the locations that were considered to be of importance: three triumphal statues of Saturninus, one in bronze and two in marble, were erected in Augustus' forum in the temple of Divus Augustus; there were three consular statues, one of which was set up in the temple of Divus Iulius, one on the Palatine by a porch with three arches, and one near the temple of Apollo. An augur statue was placed in the *regia* (headquarters of the Pontifex Maximus), an equestrian one in the forum near the rostra, and a seated statue in senatorial rank on a *sella curulis* in the portico of the Lentili near the theatre of Pompey.²¹⁰ All of these locations were important for imperial representation too.²¹¹ In Rome, the Capitol and the imperial fora must have been among the most sought-after places in which a private citizen could have his statue displayed. In Pompeii, for instance, the statue of M. Holconius Rufus, a figure of great political influence in that city who was patron of the colony and *sacerdos augusti* (priest in the cult of Augustus), was found on a major street crossing in front of the Stabian baths, a place that most of the citizens would regularly frequent.²¹² Numerous statues or statue bases have been found along the major streets and on arches over streets in cities around the Empire.²¹³ In Pergamon a series of Hadrianic bust portraits with inscriptions on the bust-feet, probably all from the same workshop, were found in the colonnaded street leading towards the *propylon* of the Asklepieion. The busts represent men of letters from the Greek past but the gallery also displayed contemporary figures including one (now headless) of the philosopher and sophist Dio Chrysostom who died after A.D. 112, and one of the ruling emperor, Hadrian.²¹⁴ Men of culture were universally revered and their images lent honour to the images of those other figures displayed with them. Trajan is reputed to have said to the

Fig. 31

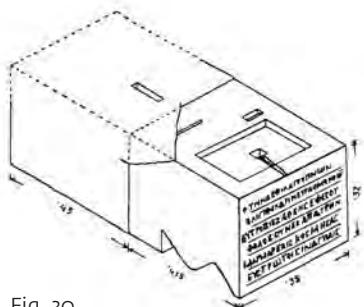


Fig. 30



Fig. 30

Marble console ($0.38 \times 0.32 \times 0.41$ m) from a column with inscription honouring Eutropios in the first half of the fifth century A.D. Found in Ephesos 'not far' from the portrait identified as Eutropios. There is a cutting on the top probably for insertion of a bust.

Fig. 31

Portrait identified as Eutropios. First half of the fifth century. Marble. Height: 0.29 m. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

same Dio Chrysostom: 'I don't understand a word you're saying, but I love you as myself'.²¹⁵ Just as the image of the emperor or his governors could act as a substitute for the person, for instance in legal matters, the fame of Dio was so great that his statues replaced him in person:

However, in my own case upon my second visit to Corinth you were so glad to see me that you did your best to get me to stay with you, but seeing that to be impossible, you did have a likeness made of me, and you took this and set it up in your library, a front row seat as it were (*proedria*), where you felt it would most effectively stimulate the youth to preserve in the same pursuit as myself.²¹⁶

In the cities of Apamea and Palmyra in Syria, and in Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, the practice developed of displaying free-standing statues of emperors, deities, local magistrates and even the above mentioned caravan leader (p. 39) on inscribed consoles high up on the columns of the long porticos lining the main streets (fig. 29).²¹⁷ There is also evidence that busts may have been displayed on consoles on columns. The famous portrait from Ephesos identified as Eutropios, was found near an inscribed console honouring Eutropios, an early fifth century A.D. benefactor (figs. 30–31 and plate 1).²¹⁸ Along the main streets the tall facades of large *nymphaea* may have been purposely constructed to hold honorific statues in their niches. Often the dedicator took the opportunity of displaying statues of himself and his family with those of the imperial family and/or statues of deities associated with the mythical founding of the city, though in a less prominent position. In Perge, for example, the wealthy benefactress Plancia Magna refurbished the old city gate with an interior court which had curved '*scenae frons*' facades with niches

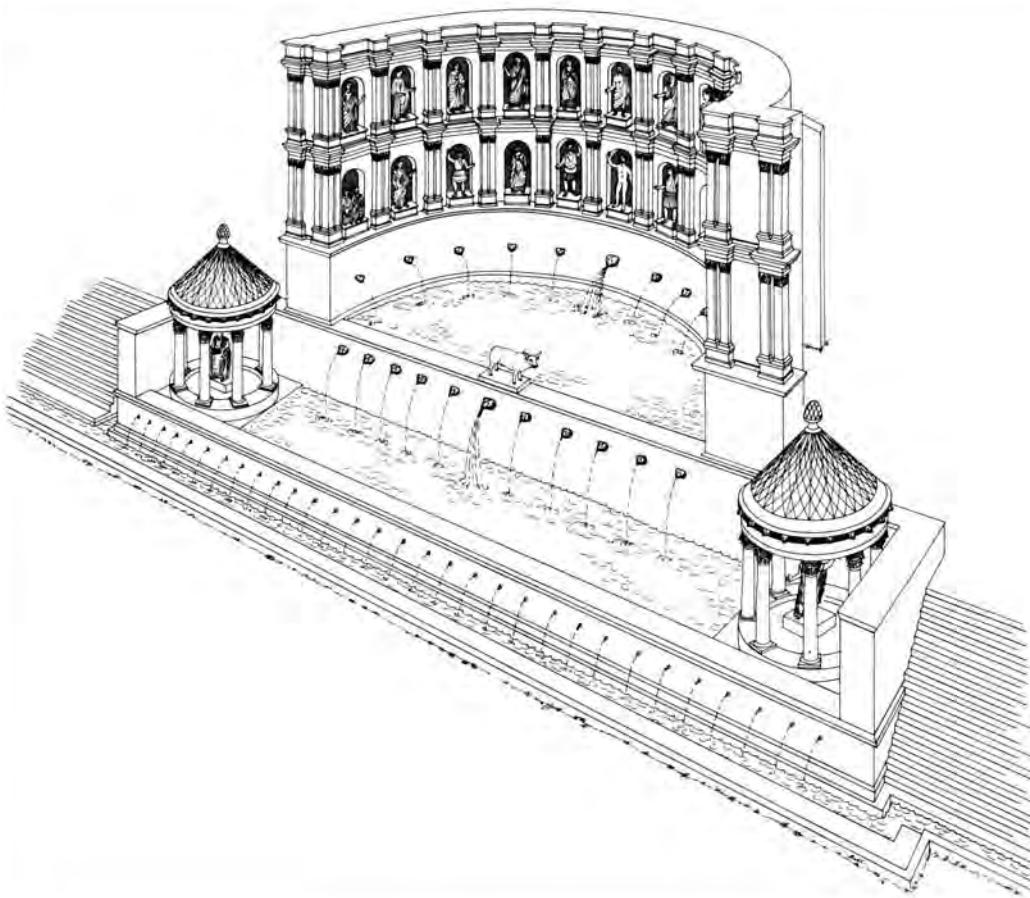


Fig. 32
The stage-like facade of the nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus in Olympia adorned with niches for statues of members of Herodes Atticus' own family and members the imperial family overseen by a statue of Zeus in the centre niche.

(fig. 32). The niches in the lower storey contained statues of gods while the upper storey niches held statues of the city's mythical founders as well as statues of her father and brother.²¹⁹ The statues of deities and mythical city founders lent associations of political power or ancestry to the image of the dedicator's family.²²⁰ Honorific statues were displayed both inside and outside the 'open air' entertainment structures in theatres, amphitheatres and circuses. In the theatres the statues were displayed in niches on or near the scene building, in the portico above the *cavea*, in the *diazoma*, in the orchestra, and in the adjoining porticos used for relaxing between performances. Numerous statues of deities and of local personifications and several imperial dynastic groups have been found in theatres; but portraits of private citizens dominated. In the West honorific statues of Roman officials and members of

the local elite were the most common but there were also a number of images of women, and occasionally one of a priest or an actor.²²¹ Most were honoured with the *statua pedestre* but men might also be honoured with equestrian and seated statues. In Leptis Magna a statue of a seated Hadrianic woman with a small child at her side was found in the orchestra. The seated pose, rather unusual for a woman outside a funerary context, probably alluded to the privileged seating of Roman male officials. This suggests that she may be the wife of a high-ranking official. The importance of athletic games and the visibility of athletes in the cities of the eastern part of the Empire was also reflected in the sculptural decoration of the theatre. Evidence from Aphrodisias suggests that while there were many idealized statues in the theatre, the impressive naked statues of two boxers stood in a prominent position by the *analemma* wall.²²² Evidence from Perge however suggests that the facade of the *scaenae frons* held a gallery of 'good emperors' displayed in niches and installed during a restoration in the third quarter of the third century A.D.²²³

Regarding the statuary of baths, the evidence from the West is limited. But a case study from Ostia suggests that the baths continued to be an important place for the display of imperial as well as private honorific statues well into Late Antiquity.²²⁴ The discoveries of numerous honorific inscriptions and portraits from the Hadrianic Baths in Leptis Magna, from the Vadius and Harbour Baths in Ephesus, from Aphrodisias and from Salamis in Cyprus, show that baths were crucial spaces



Fig. 33
Statue bases *in situ* in the frigidarium in the Hadrianic baths in Leptis Magna.

in which local benefactors in particular, but also politicians might have their portraits displayed. The portraits were erected outside in the porticoes and in the palaestra²²⁵ as well as in the interior of the baths. In the Hadrianic baths in Leptis Magna there was a preference for erecting portrait statues in the *frigidarium* and the palaestra while in Ephesos the so-called Kaisersaal was the preferred spot (fig. 33).²²⁶ Significantly, baths continued to be important locations for the display of both portrait and idealised statuary in Late Antiquity in a Christian context, even when many of the public buildings had lost their original function or were neglected. An inscription from fourth-century A.D. Constantine in North Africa explicitly mentions that the repair of the baths bestowed glory on the city and the province;²²⁷ and from Salamis there is evidence that sculptures were collected from around the otherwise badly dilapidated Late Antique city for redisplay in the baths.²²⁸

Large public and private gardens, *horti*, were also seen as good places for the erection of honorific statues.²²⁹ In quasi-public spaces as *scholae*, markets and other structures constructed by private citizens, honorands were referred to as patrons, benefactors or without mention of a particular function, just as was the case in public spaces (see below).

Numerous portraits and statue bases have been found in sanctuaries and temples. Although there is great variation from site to site, the concentration of portraits in sanctuaries is much more significant in the eastern part of the Empire than in the West, in regions that were still strongly influenced by Greek culture. In Cyrenaica, the sanctuary is the most commonly recorded find spot in which private portraits have been discovered, surpassed only by funerary contexts,²³⁰ while Tripolitania can boast only a few examples.²³¹ From the western part of the Empire, for instance from Ostia,²³² Pompeii and the province of Terraco²³³ there are likewise only isolated cases of the dedication of honorific statues in sanctuaries. Statue bases found in sanctuaries were dedicated according to the same practices as honorific statues set up in the civic non-religious spaces. Most statues were dedicated by the public or the local senate, but private citizens, often relatives of the honoree, and priests, also account for many dedications. Some portraits were set up by permission of the religious council in the city (*permis-su sancti ordinis*²³⁴) possibly stressing the statues' special religious meaning. The central role played by the sanctuary as a location for honorific statues in the eastern part of the Empire is demonstrated by the fact that statues were often of the equestrian type. Further, it is stated by Dio in his *Rhodian Oration*, that portraits erected within sanctuaries were dedicated to the gods and that they were therefore endowed with a special sanctity. Most likely the religious associations of the Roman

private portrait in sanctuaries represent a continuation of the Hellenic tradition of the hero cult and the setting up portrait statues as votive offerings in sanctuaries.²³⁵ It is possible that the portrait statues in sanctuaries were also seen as votive offerings to the gods in the early Greek tradition. This aspect of the honorific statue may, however, have died out gradually. It must be remembered that the sanctuary was not just a place for worship but also an intellectual centre. It was thus a very busy spot which also had a peculiarity sacred atmosphere. For these reasons it was an attractive site *per se* for the display of an honorific statue. In addition, sanctuaries were often visited by foreign travellers or worshippers and therefore had an 'international' character. Dio, when talking of his native town of Prusa, again in his *Rhodian Oration*, stresses the importance of the sanctuary as a place for displaying honorific statues:

and why should the man that has that love (of his fellow citizens) (have) statues too or proclamations or seats of honour? Nay, not even if it be a portrait statue of beaten gold set up in the most distinguished shrines. For one word spoken out of goodwill and friendship is worth all the gold.²³⁶

There is ample evidence of grand scale *nymphaea* with designated sculptural programmes, like that of Herodes Atticus' in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia or the private dedications in the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi.²³⁷ These were probably erected in part for the attractiveness of the sanctuary site but it is significant that the *nymphaeum* of Herodes Atticus was dedicated to Zeus by Regilla in her role as priestess,²³⁸ and likewise that the actors represented in a group of portraits in the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi may have been associated with the theatrical performances celebrating the cult of Diana in the small theatre in the sanctuary (see below p. 304). Portraits could also emphasize a particular relationship between patron and cult. In the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, the *archiereus* and a member of one of the elite families in Corinth, made an extremely generous gift by building and renovating parts of the cultic structures and installations for the games. One of the important cultic buildings which he erected, a *monopteros* of the hero Palaimon, may have held a large statue group depicting the benefactor and members of the imperial family.²³⁹

A number of the patrons represented in portrait statues found in sanctuaries are priests and priestesses. From the sanctuary of Asclepius in Pergamon there is evidence that *therapeutai*, healing priests in the Asclepius cult, were honoured with a statue.²⁴⁰ A statue of a woman wearing her hair in the typical Antonine fashion combined with the costume of Isis was found in the temple of Isis in Cyrene (fig. 34).²⁴¹ Similarly, a bust dedicated either in A.D. 154/5 or 163/4 from the *metroon* of Piraeus shows the priestess Melitine according to the inscription that goes

Fig. 34

Statue of a woman with Antonine fashion hairstyle and costume of the goddess Isis. Probably a priestess in the Isis cult.

Found in the temple of Isis in the Sanctuary of Apollo in Cyrene. Marble. Height: 1.99 m. Cyrene Museum.



with it. She has her hair styled in a way that was very much up to date with courtly fashions.²⁴² A series of ten busts of Antonine men and women from Cyrene may also represent priests and priestesses. For women, at least, the sanctuary was often the only public place where their statues would be displayed. The privilege of having a statue in the forum was restricted to very few women benefactresses.²⁴³ Private citizens, for instance members of *collegia* of the imperial cult, were also honoured in the temples dedicated to the cult.²⁴⁴ Portraits of other priests such as the bald and shaven men of the cult of Isis, may likewise have been displayed in sanctuaries. Other portraits from sanctuaries repre-

sented benefactors and benefactresses, officials, and various deserving citizens and victorious athletes.

It has been suggested that honorific statues were worshipped as cult images. However, this was only the case in the Roman East and only during the Republican period. There is evidence that during that period statues of Roman governors and their wives were worshipped very much like the images of Hellenistic kings had been.²⁴⁵ Tanner has recently argued that the introduction of nudity to Roman portrait iconography came via this tradition in the Greek East.²⁴⁶

Ancestors for eternity

Just as honorands and their families rejoiced over the awarding of a statue, so they were concerned with the statue's future destiny.²⁴⁷ Evidence from Roman Egypt of a special tax allocated to the maintenance of the emperor's statues strongly suggests that some public institution was responsible for their upkeep; but similar evidence regarding private statues is lacking.²⁴⁸ Several inscriptions and literary sources refer to the private maintenance or restoration of statues of private citizens but whether it was generally a public or private responsibility to care for statues in public spaces remains uncertain but evidence points towards the latter.²⁴⁹ From an inscription of A.D. 149 from the dwellings of the *Augustales* in ancient Misenum north of Naples commemorating a local benefactor Q. Cominius Abascantus, we learn that he had erected two statues of local gods in the forum. Years later the same Cominius Abascantus set aside a yearly sum to cover the cleaning and oiling, that is the maintenance of the statues (*simulacri*) after his death. Obviously he did not want his generous gift to the city to deteriorate and one can assume that honorific statues were of similar concern. What can be concluded is that statues were looked after and 'used'. They were probably cleaned regularly, oiled, rubbed with wax,²⁵⁰ and adorned with crowns and garlands of flowers such as roses and violets, as we learn from the Misenum inscription.²⁵¹ Some of these garlands were long and slung around the shoulder, similar to the thick garlands of flowers adorning statues of Isis, while others may have been tied around the head as was perhaps the case with the tomb statue of Balbus in Herculaneum.²⁵² Further, being exposed to the elements in outdoor settings the statues gradually got worn down. Surfaces and painted details must have been in need of regular maintenance.²⁵³ But how long did a statue remain on its original spot? For a generation or two? Or forever, if it did not for some reason become inappropriate or get in the way? There is no way now of knowing the answer to these questions but a number of different fac-

tors permit us to assume that it could not be taken for granted that an honorary statue would rest in its setting for ever. Dio Chrysostom seems to envisage an ideal situation which did not correspond with reality when he accuses the Rhodians of doing exactly the opposite, namely of pulling down old statues:

For indeed if statues were erected wrongfully, once they have gained the advantage of having been erected they hold their position rightfully from the moment they gained that advantage. For just as with officials who are elected for a year, even if one of them is unworthy of holding office, he continues in office at least for the year for which he was elected, so also with statues, that term should be valid for which they were elected; and this term is all the time to come.²⁵⁴

When provincial governor of Cilicia and Cyprus Cicero wrote that he was utterly tired of “*falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum*”, the misleading inscriptions of other people’s statues.²⁵⁵ We also hear in literary sources about statues being moved from one setting to another. Suetonius, for example, records that Augustus had a number of honorific statues removed from the Capitol and deposited in the Campus Martius,²⁵⁶ and there is ample archaeological and epigraphical evidence for the moving around of honorific statues.²⁵⁷ It is quite probable that some of the honorific statues found in the *macellum* and the so-called building of Eu-machia in Pompeii originally stood in the adjoining forum, which had as time passed been frequently remodelled and which had probably become too crowded with honorific statues.²⁵⁸ An inscription from Cirta in North Africa recalls a situation involving the removal of statues from the forum because they were in the way, making passage for pedestrians difficult.²⁵⁹ Although the inscription does not specify the type of statues that were removed there were no doubt honorific ones among them. Dio Chrysostom accused the Rhodians of violating moral laws when they pulled down old honorific statues, melted them or replaced their heads with new ones, in order to save money. He complained that the statues were dedicated to the gods and therefore ought not to be touched. That the issue which he discusses was a real one is further supported by an inscription from Lindos on Rhodes which mentions the sale of old honorific inscriptions.²⁶⁰ Although Dio is arguing his point very strongly in his polemic against honorific statues and even though Rhodes may be regarded as an extreme case, cities around the Empire probably faced a real problem in financing and finding space for all the honorific statues which they were expected or found it appropriate to award. Moreover, honorands or their descendants seem to have taken the issue of the reuse²⁶¹ or removal of the statues seriously, because many a benefaction was given on the condition that events such as the distribution of bread, wine, cakes or money would take place annually, even indefinitely, in front of their statue. When the statue was adorned with

crowns, garlands of flowers and anointed with scented oils it became 'alive' and participated in city life just as the honorand himself had done previously in person. There was a strong connection between power and smell and adornment. It was a particularly efficient and emotive way of drawing attention to the honorand and his family or descendants.²⁶² But at the same time it probably also represented an attempt to prevent one's statue from being removed and/or reused.²⁶³ Bearing in mind that the most frequently used body types for honouring men in public, the toga statue in the West and the himation statue in the East, changed very little during the Early and Middle Empire (as will be discussed in more detail below), a reused statue body did not necessarily look old-fashioned or outdated. No doubt, this made reuse a very attractive shortcut and as many statues were carved without the head, which was separately inserted, it would have been an easy and cost-effective solution to exchange it and the new patron of the statue was probably not aware of it or did not care. Reuse of statues and statue bases is a recurring phenomenon and one not limited to periods of economic crisis or to Late Antiquity.²⁶⁴

It was suggested in the discussion of honorands above that a number of the statues set up in public spaces in honour of local magistrates and the local elite were posthumous and that these stood in contrast to the statues dedicated to imperial magistrates. The erecting of statues to members of the imperial governing aristocracy in provincial towns happened to a large extent during their lifetime and the practice probably followed a certain routine. The statues replaced the functionaries in person when they were not present; they also drew attention to their roles as representatives of central power in the provinces of the Empire. In contrast, when it was ordained that a statue would be set up in public to someone already deceased, the honour was often connected with a public funeral. These prestigious honours put a spotlight on the descendants.²⁶⁵ At the same time the statues also had a consolatory function for descendants and friends as is evident when Pliny the Younger mentions that he is comforted every time he passes the statue of Cottius who may have died in A.D. 97:

I miss him now unbearably; it will therefore be a pleasure for me to contemplate his statue from time to time, turn back to look at it, stand at its foot, and walk past it. We seek consolation in sorrow in the busts (*imagines*) of our dead we set up in our homes; still more should we find it in the statues standing in public places for these can recall men's fame and distinction as well as their forms and faces.²⁶⁶

Portrait inscriptions dedicated by the city could also express regret for the premature death of a child and help to console the parents.²⁶⁷ When

the city of Prusa wanted to honour their native philosopher and sophist Dio Chrysostom with statues, he reacted as follows:

But if really I must have some such honours also, I have here at Prusa many other honours already – in the first place, those belonging to my father, all these honours bestowed upon him for being a good citizen and for administering the city with uprightness as long as he lived; then, too those belonging to my mother, in whose memory you not only set up a statue, but also established a shrine; furthermore honours bestowed on my grandsires and my other ancestors; and more than that, the honours possessed by my brothers and the other kinsmen. For numerous statues and state funerals and funeral games have been accorded them by this city ...²⁶⁸

Quite clearly Dio felt that the honours which the city had already bestowed on his ancestors also honoured him; he is obviously proud of these statues and the rejection of statues on his own behalf is probably more a piece of sophistic rhetoric designed to draw attention to his ancestors' importance than a true representation of his opinions. Pliny the Elder likewise stressed the aspect of eternal memorial embodied in honorific statues and in their inscribed bases:

the custom proceeded to arise of having statues adorning the public places of all municipal towns and of perpetuating the memory of human beings and of inscribing lists of honours on the bases to be read for all time, so that such records should not be read on their tombs only.²⁶⁹

This shows that the posthumous honours which Herodes Atticus bestowed on his wife and the *trophimoi* in his villas, were anything but extreme, but instead represent the most well-known example of a common practice. It is not clear whether Pliny refers to both statues set up during the lifetime of honorands and posthumously awarded statues. However, it is certainly not the immediate honour connected with the statue but rather the long-term memory of a city's dignitaries that concerns him. Several factors indicate that locals often had to wait until after death to have their statues set up. In the forum space was sparse and it was therefore restricted to a large extent to images of the emperor and members of the imperial administration. The statues awarded to locals in the forum were probably often posthumous, and both literary and epigraphic sources suggest a widespread practice of dedicating statues posthumously, as we have already seen. However, this does not imply that posthumous honours were perceived as being less important; but it tells us that many patrons had to wait until after death to have their statue set up.²⁷⁰

Competition between members of the local elite to have their statues set up in public was tough and the longer they had to wait the more

benefactions they were able (or pressurised) to give. Soteles of Pegae was honoured with a statue for the benefactions “which he had shown unfailingly since his youth”. Perhaps as a result of this, care was taken to ensure that the statues would eventually play the role of ancestral monuments. On the day of its dedication, the statue would receive much attention in the form of inauguration ceremonies but the statue was not ‘left on its own’ thereafter.²⁷¹ As with any other artwork the honorific statue continued to interact with its audience long after it had been set up and the honorand himself, or his descendants, often took special care to see that attention was brought to the statue regularly; in short the statue had its own biography. Several inscriptions (so-called foundation inscriptions) from the western as well as the eastern part of the Empire show that benefactions were given to the city on the condition that the interest should cover the expenses of events that would take place annually or more often in front of the statue of the benefactor or those of his ancestors or kinsmen. Sometimes it was stipulated that these practices should continue indefinitely. Individual statues, therefore, regularly stood out from the other statues displayed in the same context. In second-century Ostia Fabius Hermogenes, the *equester publicus* and *flamen* of the cult of the deified Hadrian, received upon his death a public funeral and an equestrian statue in the forum. His father, probably a freedman, comforted by the distinctions shown to his son, made the generous gift of 50,000 sesterces to the city.²⁷² However, from the interest on this gift there was to be a distribution of *spotulae* (small amounts of money) yearly on the birthday of his deceased son and as it was decided in front of his statue.

[...]/ Fabio Hermog[eni]/ equo publ(ico), scribae, aedil[i],/ dec(urioni) adlect(o),/ flam(ini) divi Hadri[ani],/ in cuius sacerdotio solus ac p[imus ludos]/scenicos sua pecunia fecit./ Hunc splendissimus ordo dec(urionum) [f(unere) p(ublico)]/ honoravit eique statuam equestre[m cum in-]/ scriptione ob amorem et industria[m]/ in foro fonendem pecun(ia) publ(ica) decr[evit]/ inque locum eius aedil(em) substituendum [non]/ putavit in solacium Fabi pat[ris],/ qui ob honores ei habitos (sestertium) L m(ilia) n(ummum)/ dedit ex quorum usuris quincunci[bus/ quot] annis XIII kal(endas) Aug(ustas) die natali(s) eius dec[urionibus]/ [si]ngulis (denarios) V dentur et decuri [alibus/ Ce]raris (denarios) XXXVIIS, libraris (denarios) [XXXVIIS], li[ctor]ibus (denarios) XXV.[...]/ in aede Romae et Augusti placu[it]/ ordini decurionum praesente/ Fabio patre uti sportulas/ die natal(is) Hermogenis fili/ eius praesentibus in foro ante/ statuas ipsius dividi/stipulatione interposita

... for Fabius Hermogenes *equester publicus*, secretary, aedile, elected decurion, priest in the cult of the divine Hadrian, in which position he presented as the first and only scenic games at his own expense. The venerable order of the decurions honoured him with a public funeral, and decided that an equestrian statue should be erected in the forum with an inscription in recognition of his love and industry and that no other aedile should be put in his place. This was done to comfort his father, who gave 50,000 sesterces towards the honours that were offered his son. Of

Fig. 35
Ostia, just outside the Porta Romana with the tomb of Fabius Hermogenes and its long commemorative inscription.



the 5% interest on this amount each decurion should have five denars on his birthday 20 July, and the decuria fellows 37.5 denars, the secretaries 37.5 denars, the lictors 25... It pleased the order of the decurions, meeting in the temple of Roma and Augustus, in the presence of his father, to add as promise, that money should be distributed on the birthday of Hermogenes, his son, in the forum in front of his statues, to those present.²⁷³

The proud father also had the inscription copied on his son's tomb outside the Porta Romana (fig. 35 and plate 4).²⁷⁴

An inscription from the second century, of Aulus Quinctilius is cut on a rock facade just outside the city wall of Ferentinum. This recalls the awarding of his statue which he was permitted to erect in the forum wherever he wanted. The inscription recounts how Quinctilius paid for it himself out of gratitude. He also put aside money for the distribution of cakes and sweet wine and 30 sesterces for the adornment (possibly with garlands and scented oils)²⁷⁵ of both the statue and his other portraits (*imagines*) on the 6th of May, annually and forever.

A(ulo) Quinctilio A(uli) f(ilio)/ Pal(atina tribu) Prisco/ IIIvir(o) aed(ilicia)
potest(ate), IIIIvir(o) iure/ dic(undo), IIIIvir(o) quinq(uennali) adlecto ex s(enatus)
c(onsulto),/ pontif(ici), praef(ecto) fabr(um);/ [hu]ius ob eximiam munifi-
cent(iam), quam in munic(ipes)/ suos contulit, senat(us) statuam publice po-
nend(am) in foro, ubi ipse/ vellet, censuere. H(onore) a(ccep)to i(mpensam)
r(emisit). Hic ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) fundos Ceponian(um)/ et Roianum et Mami-
an(um) et pratum Exesco ab r(e) p(ublica) redem(it)/ (sestertium) LXX m(ilibus)
n(ummum) et in avit(um) r(ei) p(ublicae) reddid(it), ex quor(um) reditu de (ses-
tertium) IV m(ilibus) CC/ quod annis VI id(us) Mai(as) die natal(is) suo perpet(uo)
daretur praesent(ibus)/ municipib(us) et incol(is) et mulierib(us) nuptis crustul(i)
p(ondo) I, mulsi hemin(a);/ et circa triclin(i) decurionib(us) mulsum et crust-

(ulum) et sportul(a) (sesterti) X n(ummi),/ item puer(is) curiae increment(is); et VI vir(is) Aug(ustalibus) quibusq(ue) u(na) v(escendum) e(st?) crustulum/ mulsum et (sesterti) VIII n(ummi); et in triclin(i)o meo ampl(ius) in sing(ulos) h(omines) (sesterti) I n(ummi); et in orn(atum)/ statuae et imag(inum) mear(um) res p(ublica) perpet(uo) (sestertios) XXX n(ummis) impend(at) arbitratu IIIIvir(orum),/ aedilium cura. Favorabil(e) est, si puer(is) plebeis sine distinctione liber/ tatis nucum sparsion(em) mod(iorum) XXX et ex vini urnis VI potionum/ eministration(em) digne increments praestiterint.

For Aulus Quintilius Priscus, son of Aulus, of the Palatine tribe, member of the board of three with aedilician power, member of the board of four with judicial powers, member of the board of four elected for five years by decree of the senate, pontifex, prefect of the engineers. For the unique generosity with which he blessed his fellow citizens, the senate decided to erect a statue of him publicly in the forum wherever he desired. He accepted the honour, but paid the expenses himself. According to the decision of the Senate, he bought the estates Ceponianus, Roianus, Mamianus and the Exoscan meadows from the state for 70,000 sesterces and gave it back to the city as it had been of old. Out of the interest of 4,200 sesterces, the citizens and inhabitants and the married women should be given every year on 12 May a pound of sweet and half a pint of *mulsum* be distributed, and at the *triclinium*, each decurion should be given *mulsum* and sweets and a gift of ten sesterces. Likewise, those boys who will be the future senators, and the board of six in care of the cult of Augustus should be given sweets, *mulsum*, and eight sesterces; and in my *triclinium* more than one sesterce to each man; and for the decoration of my statue and images the state shall forever pay 30 sesterces according to the judgment of the board of four, by the care of the aediles. It is furthermore favourable if the sons of the senators are supplied with 30 modi of nuts to distribute to the plebeian boys without regard to their status as freeborn or slave-born and to serve 6 half-amphoras of wine, with portions increasing according to the rank.²⁷⁶

The statue referred to in the inscription may perhaps be identified in an inscribed base found in Ferentinum together with a ‘headless statue’.²⁷⁷

In Meder in Lydia a second- or third-century inscription recalls that Publius Aelius Aelianus donated 6,500 denarii to the city council and that the interest on the money would be distributed annually on the birthday of his son in front of his statue.²⁷⁸

Several inscriptions recall similar instances of generosity with strings attached which were to be enacted in front of the statues of living or already deceased honorands, and it can be imagined how this affected public life in the city.²⁷⁹ The viewers (larger or smaller groups) were for a moment moved from perceiving the forum as an expression of communal values of honours, history and memory into a very personal confrontation with the patron of the statue, his family and his history. These events allowed the local elite families to play and retain a political and economic role in people’s minds and in city life.²⁸⁰ The immediate honour arising from the erection of a statue in the public space quickly evolved into a more general commemoration of the honorand which was shared by both the city community and the proud family. On the

day of their dedication numerous honorific statues would function as images of ancestors on multiple levels: they represented the public history of the city as well as the personal ancestors of the kinsmen of those who were commemorated.²⁸¹ Other statues, dedicated to the living as an immediate response to benefactions, later assumed that function too. A city looked with pride on its honorific statues and likewise publicized its famous citizens. Not unlike local gods and personifications, the sitters of honorific statues were (or eventually became) representatives of the communal memory of the city, reminding its citizens of the high standards of their forebears, and demanding the same of them. In ca A.D. 220 in Saturnia the inhabitants honoured a Gaius Didius as their patron. In addition they honoured him for his distinctive career in the army, which had earned him *torques* and arms in the Parthian wars and a golden *corona civica* and a pure silver sword during the reign of Severus and Caracalla, because he had brought glory to his native city.

G(aio) Didio G(aii) f(ilio) Sab(atina tribu)/ Saturnino/ p(rimo)p(ilo),/ donato bello
 Par(thico)/ a divo Vero item/ bello Germanico/ a divo M(arco) torq(uibus) et
 arm(illis),/ item divis Severo et/ Magno Antonino/ coron(a) aurea civica/ et asta
 pura argent(ea),/ ob insigni[a] eius in/ rem pu[blicam][merita/ Saturnienses/
 municipes patro(no).

Cura(m) agente G(aio) Min/ tio Ur<s>o.

The Saturnians (erected this monument) for their patron Gaius Didius Saturninus, son of Gaius, of the Sabatine tribe, chief centurion, who was given the torques and the armlets for the Parthian war by the divine Verus, and for the Germanic war by the divine Marcus, and the golden civic crown and the javelin of pure silver by the divine Severus and Magnus Antoninus. They did so because of these emblems earned in service to the state. The work was supervised by Gaius Mintius Ursus.²⁸²

Even though there was much competition between citizens to be awarded a statue, there is no doubt that when the statue had finally been inaugurated it became a public monument to which the public related. The benefactions and achievements, which had earned the honorand his statue were perceived as honourable and memorable. Literary sources emphasize how the fame and glory attained by certain citizens may reflect on their home towns: “for a city not only gives a man a great name, but can acquire one from a man”²⁸³ The public space in municipal and provincial towns seems to have been a place in which to demonstrate one’s pride in one’s ancestors from the late first century B.C. onwards. During the Republican period the *pompa funebris*, a tradition taken over from the Etruscans was a regular occurrence. As the descriptions of Polybius testify, this was a very important element in the old Roman aristocratic families’ maintaining of their elite social position and in their public self-representation. An impressive part of the funeral procession was the parading of *imagines maiorum*, wax masks of ancestors, which

were otherwise kept in cupboards (*armaria*), in the atrium of the family house (see fig. 50). The *imago* was probably a realistic representation of a man in the form of a mask and it may even be worn in processions by an actor whose bodily stature and gestures resembled those of the deceased; women, who could not hold offices were not entitled to be represented in that medium. It could only be given to those men who had held a higher public office, typically a member of one of the old aristocratic families. The ancestral mask was therefore a privilege of the few, as Harriet Flower has demonstrated, and it was one of the most important insignia and status symbols in the display of rank and influence of the old aristocratic families in Rome.²⁸⁴ From their first appearance in the third century B.C. ancestral masks defined the honour, glory and political power of Rome's noble families. The *pompa funebris* gradually lost its significance and seems to have ceased to be an important feature of the cultural landscape by the time of Tiberius.²⁸⁵ The production of ancestral masks suffered a similar decline; their role, it seems, was reduced to that of the collectible. The reasons for this were probably several. The number of aristocratic families which could boast a family tree reaching back more than a few generations had been severely limited by the political turbulence during the civil wars, and a number of persons of a non-senatorial background had appeared on the political scene during the Late Republic.²⁸⁶ Wealth and personal contacts replaced old aristocratic values and symbols. Interest in the present and the future, expressed for instance in the portraits of children, which become common during this period, is prominent.²⁸⁷ The role of ancestors which initially had related to the personal, became more closely linked with the communal values of the city: ancestors were represented in monumental and public form as the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus. The idea of publicly maintained images of ancestors can in fact be traced back to the ancestral mask of Scipio Africanus which was kept in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and that of Cato the Elder in the Senate.²⁸⁸

From the Roman East, publicly erected ancestral monuments, such as that of Philopappos in Athens²⁸⁹ and that of Plancia Magna in Perge,²⁹⁰ form later parallels to Augustus' monuments in his forum. During the second century A.D. Greece and Asia Minor enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity and enthusiasm for a Hellenic past flourished in both art and literature. This is generally known as the 'Second Sophistic'²⁹¹ By including images of her family members alongside images of the city's mythical past on the city gate for which she had paid, Plancia Magna ensured that her family was linked with the oldest and most venerable public ancestors.²⁹² But the old family institutions and the evocation of ancestry which had been traditionally maintained by a few powerful clans

in Rome, did not suit imperial rulership. Nor did they have relevance to a local elite which was growing steadily more powerful throughout the Roman provinces. Communal ancestors and honorands, shared by the city, however, created a common identity and acted as *exempla* for the citizens. With its impressive and decorative form the honorific statue was a long-lasting and effective feature in the process of monumentalizing of public spaces which took place in provincial cities and in Rome itself during the Early Empire. In municipal and provincial towns the public space took over part of the function of the private atrium as a place in which to display ancestral pride. In the eastern part of the Empire the custom of cities adopting the children of the elite as 'son' or 'daughter', or of proclaiming men and women 'father' or 'mother' of the people or the city, spread.²⁹³ This ancestral pride was communal and of course metaphorical. It was displayed in public in the honorific statues; but because families continued to set up portraits in their atria and other rooms in their houses it did retain a personal element. Inscriptions from municipal towns in Italy suggest that it was only through their ancestors that a number of local elite citizens had their family represented by the honorific statue in the public space. The public space had become a stage for the display of an inheritance that was both public and personal. In attire the posthumous statues did not stand out from those statues dedicated to honorands while still alive, as we will see below.

The monumentalization in the public spaces of Roman cities with honorific statues characterized the Early and Middle Empire. By the third century and in particular towards the end of the third century, however, the social diversity in the composition of honorands was dramatically reduced. What we encounter primarily here in the honorific statues is elite holders of office. Care was no longer taken in integrating the honorific statues aesthetically into the architectural space of the city and many portrait statues and inscriptions were recut from earlier ones.²⁹⁴ These developments should no doubt be seen in the light of general changes in the material culture, which took place during that period. The cutting of inscriptions and the production of both idealised and portrait statuary declined drastically and the grand public monuments almost disappeared. Borg and Witschel have argued that a gradual change occurs in the mentality as well as in the material culture of the period. Interest moves away from the construction of monumental art to the staging of spectacles, games, processions and other kind of performances. And these in turn affected the awarding of honorific statues.²⁹⁵

Corporate Spaces, Houses, Villas and Tombs



Buildings of corporations, houses, villas and tombs were to many patrons the only places where they could put images of themselves on display because the public awarded honorific statue was a privilege reserved for the few. It is also in these spaces that one would expect patrons to reveal their personal preferences for their portraits. In this chapter I shall explore the following questions in relation to these issues: Do we find evidence of self-styling and self-affirmation which was not necessarily appropriate in a public context in the modes of representation in these spaces? How did the meaning and function of portraits in these settings differ from the meaning and function of the public honorific statue? The answers, we will see, are difficult to ascertain because for members of the influential elite distinctions between public and private life were minimal. In fact, portraits in houses and villas of the elite were not at all considered to be outside the public sphere. When the patrician Cn. Calpurnius Piso was accused of having murdered Germanicus Caesar in A.D. 19, not only were his portraits removed from public spaces; his family was also advised against including his *imago*, ancestral mask among the images of his ancestors.¹ And the banning of Piso's portraits was not an isolated instance. This clearly demonstrates the political importance of the private residences of the elite.² Portraits in a funerary context were also subject to both private and public concerns. Although beliefs about the afterlife, burial traditions, and family traditions influenced the use and modes of representation of portraits commissioned for a funerary context, there was a strong desire for these images to be indicative of social status and to interact with an audience which might include strangers as well as family.

Corporate buildings

Roman society was to a large extent devoid of public organizational institutions; personal, cultural, social, professional or religious interaction

therefore played a significant role in the lives of individuals. The organization of individuals into private voluntary guild-like or cultic organizations was therefore essential to the economic and religious functioning of the city. On the so-called Piazzale delle Corporazioni in Ostia one can get an impression of the importance of the existence of professional guild-like *collegia*. Its location as well as its architectural and sculptural decor give the Piazzale delle Corporazioni a very public character. Different local and foreign guilds which were commercially important in Ostia were represented by inscriptions and statues honouring their patrons and by mosaics mentioning the name of their organization. Those monuments constituted a kind of advertisement for the services of the guilds themselves.³ Located next to the theatre, the Piazza also functioned as a relaxing area for walks for the visitors to the theatre. Its impact on city life must therefore have been significant.

The *schola* of a *collegium* (or *corpora*) typically consisted of an enclosed complex with a meeting-place and banqueting hall, a small sanctuary and *latrinae*. These structures may have acted as spaces of self-representation for individuals of the lower social orders as they tried to climb up the social ladder, or as alternative spaces to public areas. Whatever the case, the guild-like and religious *collegia* and their residences must have played a significant role in the political, economic, and not least, the religious life of a city.⁴ Significantly, the dwellings of these organizations in Rome and provincial towns were important as locations in which the lower classes could demonstrate loyalty towards the emperor, by setting up his statues and by establishing and serving his cult.⁵ Cultic worship, especially that of the emperor was an important element in the activities of both the religious and guild-like *collegia*. It reflected a tradition descended from the traditions of the Hellenistic East, where a close connection existed between ruler cult and *collegia*.⁶ The *scholae* were also used, of course, for meetings and banquets with or without a cultic content. But at the same time they were locations well suited to the members' iconographic self-display, as is suggested by the sculptural decor found in several of these *collegia*.

A number of the cultic *collegia* were reorganized or revitalised by Augustus as part of his religious reforms. It should also be remembered that this was an efficient means for the emperor of becoming involved with these classes.⁷ Members of both the guild-like and the religious *collegia* (such as those of the *Augustales*, priests in the imperial cult) were mainly freedmen. Many of the *Augustales* were very wealthy and as an organization they played a significant economic and social role in municipal societies.⁸ In spite of that, *Augustales* would normally not have been able to have any of their hopes of obtaining an honorific statue in the public sphere fulfilled. We have already seen above that only ten



Plate 5

One of the most famous portraits to have survived from antiquity is the portrait of Pompeius Magnus, member of the Licinii Crassi clan. The portrait was discovered in the first burial chamber of the tomb of the Licinii on the Via Appia by Rome. Probably early imperial copy of an original made during his lifetime. Marble. Height: 0.25 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



Plate 6

Statue of Titus in the nude in a statuary type which reflects a fifth century B.C. original. The plumpness of the body and the crude carving of the head suggest that a local workshop was commissioned for the work. Found *in situ* in a niche in the back wall of *templum augusti* in Misenum. Marble. Height: 2.33 m. Castello di Baia.



Plate 7

Statue of Vespasian in the same statuary type as that of Titus (Plate 6). Also found *in situ* in a niche in the back wall of the *templum augusti* in Misenum. Marble. Height: 2.3 m. Castello di Baia.



Plate 8

Bust of a certain Lucius with the herm that belongs to it, found in the atrium of Casa di Lucio Cecilio Giocondo in Pompeii, Regio V 1,26. It dates to the Augustan period and may represent an ancestor of the owner of the house, a rich Pompeian banker. Bust of bronze. Herm of grey marble with bronze genitals. Height of bust: 0.35 m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



honorific inscriptions in the Italian corpus commemorate *Augustales*.⁹ However, when philanthropic or powerful members showed generosity by carrying out construction and restorations work in their *schola*, they would be repaid with a monumental statue displayed – like an honorific statue – on a tall inscribed base. Freedmen and members of the lower echelons of society here received statues placed on high bases with long honorific inscriptions dedicated by members of their collegium. Although these were not dedicated by the public, still they had similarly complimentary associations. The *schola* was also a place in which private citizens from these sectors of society could dedicate statues to influential elite patrons as well as to the emperor. Three complexes discovered fairly recently – that of the *Augustales* at Misenum, that of *Aenatores* in Rome and the so-called school of doctors in Velia – may serve to illustrate the role which portraiture played in this context.

The sculptural finds in the buildings of the collegium of *Augustales* located in the centre of the prosperous harbour city of Misenum comprise an equestrian bronze statue of Domitian which has been reworked into a portrait of Nerva, marble statues of Vespasian and Titus, a now headless female statue, a statue of Fortuna, fragments of a statue base with relief decoration, a sculpted pedimental relief, and minor objects (figs. 36–38 and plates 6–7).¹⁰ Nine inscribed statue bases as well as one left blank were found along with the sculptures but none of the bases

Fig. 36
Pedimental decoration of the pronaos of the *templum augusti* in Misenum. It shows portraits of the benefactors who restored the pronaos of the temple Cassia Victoria and her deceased husband the *Augustalis* L. Laecanius Primitivus.

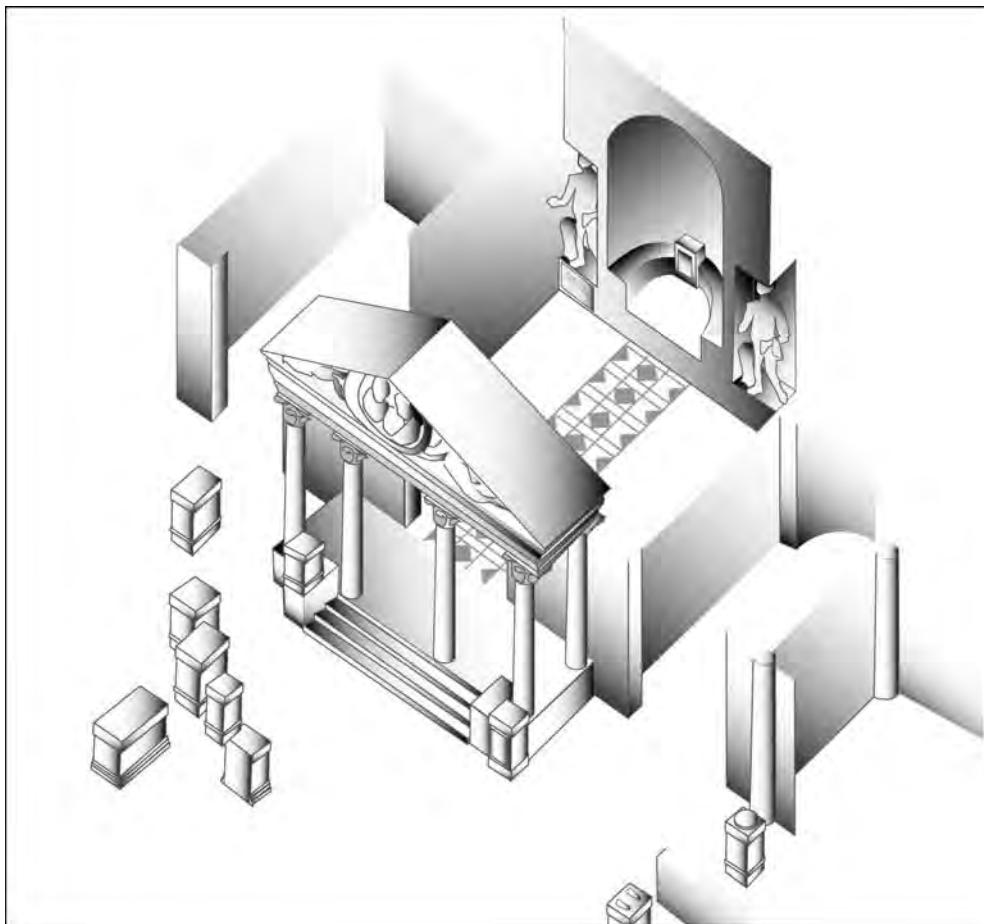


Fig. 37

Reconstruction of the *templum augusti* in Misenum. (Drawing by Thora Fisker).



Fig. 38

Statue bases found in the court in front of the *templum augusti* of the collegium of Augustales at Misenum now in Castello di Baia.

belonged to any of the sculptures. Four bases were dedicated to deities,¹¹ and three to Roman emperors (two to Nerva and one to Trajan) all by an *Augustalis* on behalf of the group of *Augustales*.¹² Two (or three) of the statues were dedicated to *Augustales* during the Trajanic and Antonine periods.¹³ The bases of the *Augustales* statues were found with the other bases and sculptures, probably *in situ*,¹⁴ in a portico in front of a structure which has been identified as the main cult building of the imperial cult, the so-called *sacellum*, probably referred to as *Templum Augusti* in base 1;¹⁵ this was a large base for an equestrian statue honouring Trajan.¹⁶ Images of some of the hundred or so freedmen who had become members of the *collegium* were thus mingled with images of emperors and gods.¹⁷ The back wall of the *Templum Augusti* had a large central apsis with an inscription dedicated to Augustus and the Genius Augustalium.¹⁸ It may have carried a statue of a Genius. On either side of the apsis was a tall rectangular niche in which nude statues of Vespasian and Titus were found *in situ*. Embedded in the wall below the statue of Vespasian was a marble slab inscribed DIVO VESPASIANO/C VOLUSIUS MENECLLES. According to another inscription the *Templum Augusti* also housed a *clipeus* (a shield-shaped relief) decorated with images of the *Augustalis* and freedman L. Caninius Hermes Senior and his son and dedicated by the *Augustales*. Amongst his benefactions Caninius had set up the statue of Trajan.¹⁹ The most prominent position in the whole complex was the pediment of the entrance porch, added to the *Templum Augusti* in the Antonine period. Here one would have expected an image of an emperor, but instead the pediment was adorned with a *clipeus* with images of the priestess Cassia Vic-



Fig. 39
Clipeus portrait of a man in toga from the forum in Cumae. Early imperial. Marble. Diameter: 1,5 m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



Fig. 40
The large podium which supported statues of the Iulio-Claudian imperial family. Last Neronian phase.

toria and her deceased husband the *Augustalis* L. Laecanius Primitivus. The inscription on the architrave informs us that Cassia Victoria had financed the construction of the *pronaos* in both her own name and that of her husband. The *clipeus* was a mode of representation that evoked old-fashioned public honours, as in the early imperial *clipeatae* from the forum of nearby Cumae (fig. 39). It was a format also employed by the emperor during that period.²⁰ Although sections of the seat of the *Augustales* at Misenum still remain unexcavated with only the *Templum Augusti* securely identified, it is probably safe to assume that this was a part of the *collegium's* dwellings to which not only members of the *collegium*, but also the wider public had access.²¹ A stream of visitors probably came to the sanctuary on a daily basis. The sculptural programme with its display of statues of members of the *collegium* next to statues of gods and emperors therefore had a significant impact on urban life.

The enclosed sanctuary of *Aenatores*, a guild of the musicians of bronze wind instruments, was discovered in Rome near the Arch of Constantine (figs. 40–41).²² The complex, which was destroyed during the fire in A.D. 64 and never rebuilt, comprises a small temple with a staircase into which was built a statue base honouring Tiberius prior to his adoption by Augustus.²³ The complex also had a columned *aedicula* or shrine with a large statue base bearing an inscription that commemorated members of the Iulio-Claudian dynasty. The text of the base was altered many times to accommodate new emperors – the last one being Nero. The large base which in its final state (after Agrippina had been removed) supported statues of Augustus, Nero and Claudius, like the statue base for Tiberius, was dedicated by the musicians blowing bronze instruments: tuba players, trumpet players and horn players. The find of a portrait head which cannot be identified with any of the members of the Iulio-Claudian family, suggests that, also in this quasi-private space in Rome, statues of members of the guild stood alongside those of the emperors.²⁴



Fig. 41
Reconstruction drawing
of the bronze base for a
statue of Tiberius.

Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Ti(beri) f(ilio)
Neroni Pont(ifici) co(n)s(uli) II imp(erator) II
Aenatores Tubicines
Liticines Cornicines
Romani

The Roman horn blowers, trumpet players, clarion players and the bugle horn players (set up the statue) in honour of Tiberius Claudius Nero, son of Tiberius, pontifex, consul twice and imperator twice.

Fig. 42
Plan of the so-called
School of Doctors in
Velia. The toga statue of
Eusinos (no. 22 here Figs.
43-44) as well as other
portraits and inscribed
herms of doctors were
found in the front court-
yard while imperial por-
traits were discovered in
the large peristyle.

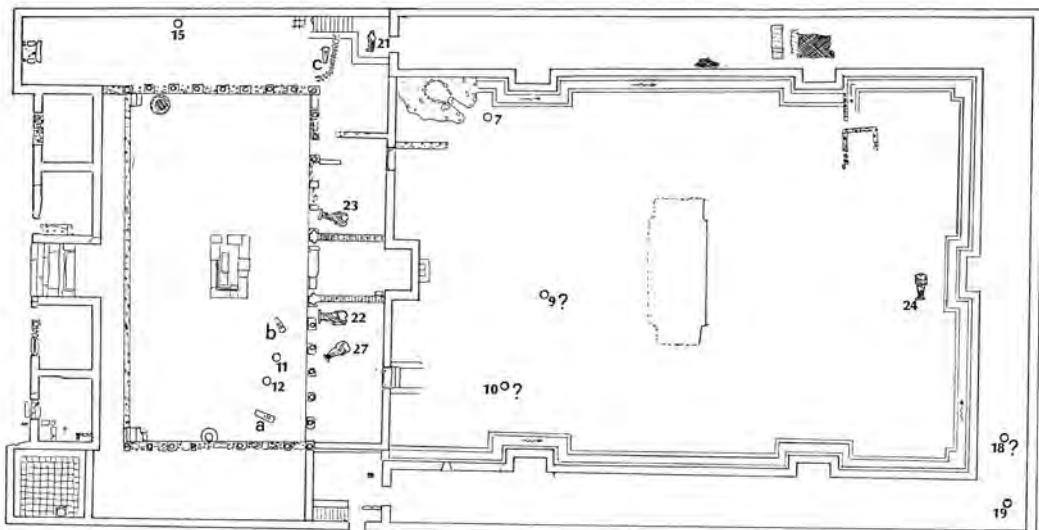


Fig. 43

Toga statue inscribed on the plinth in Greek with the name of the oulian doctor Eusinos. The wreathed head is separately inserted. Late first century B.C. Marble. Height of statue without head: 1.84 m. Marina di Ascea.



Fig. 44

Fig. 44
Detail of head of Eusinos
Fig. 43. Marble. Height:
0.365 m. Marina di Ascea.

Fig. 43

For the third example, the so-called school of doctors in Velia (known in antiquity as a healing spa town), the epigraphic evidence is not as clear-cut as for the two previous examples.²⁵ The complex consists of a front courtyard surrounded on three sides by colonnades behind which is a large garden raised on a higher level; it in turn is surrounded by a *cryptoparticus* and probably an upper colonnade (figs. 42–44). Portraits and inscriptions commemorating doctors were found in the front courtyard where they may have been displayed in front of the columns while portraits of the imperial Julio-Claudian family were primarily discovered in the garden; some were also found in the *cryptoparticus*, the latter obviously not *in situ*.²⁶ The most important sculpture discovered here is a togatus which has been linked with a separately carved head with wreath. This is identified as the doctor Eusinos by a Greek inscription on the plinth with the epithet *oulios* which was associated with Apollo as heal-

er. Two other Greek inscriptions are carved on headless herm shafts, likewise commemorating *oulian* doctors, one by the name of Aristonos, the other Ieronumos. Further sculptural finds include two male portraits wearing a wreath identical to the one worn by Eusinos; they most likely represent doctors too. The portraits date to the late first century B.C. and are carved in a Republican tradition, recalling in quality and style portraits of freedmen reliefs. The wreaths, which they wear around their head, probably do not have anything to do with their profession, but rather characterize the doctors as priests or worshippers, perhaps in the cult of Apollon Oulios. The fourth inscription, also in Greek and on a herm shaft, commemorates the philosopher Parmenides who is associated with medicine. A bearded philosopher portrait found in the complex has been linked with this herm. A portrait of Menander, a statuette of Asclepius, a female head with a mural crown, and a group of ten portrait heads which have been identified as family members of the Iulio-Claudian imperial house, are also among the total 29 sculptures found in the complex.²⁷ The Iulio-Claudian portrait heads are carved for insertion into statues (or herms?) and they should perhaps be joined with some of the headless female statues.

Many theories concerning the function of this complex have been proposed. It has been suggested that it was a seat of a Pythagorean society with a medical school or a *palaestra iuventutis*, a dwelling for 'a philosophical and religious group comprising physicians, and connected in some way with the cult of a healing god'.²⁸ However, none of the four preserved inscriptions actually mentions a *schola*, and likewise none mentions an imperial or any other cult. Ultimately whether the complex should be interpreted as a training place for doctors or a meeting facility for a corporation of them is of minor importance here. What is significant is the way in which private organizations, in this case a medical one, used their buildings to display monumental statuary of their members alongside those of gods and (after the establishment of imperial rulership) of members of the imperial family. The discovery of the imperial Iulio-Claudian portraits certainly suggests the presence of an imperial cult in the complex, just as we have seen in the buildings of the *Aenatores* and that of the *Augustales*.

These three examples, to which many more could be added,²⁹ demonstrate two important points: Firstly, cooperative building complexes may have been private in principal, but they were busy places. In addition to members of the corporation they would have had many other visitors, and would have been frequented both by those wanting to attend meetings and by those serving the imperial cult. This type of space was therefore an appropriate one for patrons who would usually not have their personal hopes of receiving a statue in public fulfilled. We have al-

ready seen in the discussion concerning dedications in public above how one ‘neighbouring’ statue lent distinctive honours to another. Being honoured with a statue that was placed next to a statue of a god or an emperor must certainly have gratified the self-esteem of any *Augustalis* or freedman. Secondly, if everybody who wanted to honour the emperor with a statue in public were allowed to do so, the public spaces would not only have become overcrowded but the procedure of dedicating an image to the emperor would have been subject to ‘inflation’. The honouring of the emperor had to remain a privilege. In this context, the quasi-private spaces of *collegia* gave private citizens and organizations the option of demonstrating their loyalty towards the emperor not just by setting up a statue of him but in addition by serving his cult. The imperial cult and the imperial image became key instruments in the interaction between the lower social orders in municipal towns and the emperor. At the same time such costly dedications no doubt also bestowed prestige upon the organization and its members.

However, it was not just members and organizations of the lower social orders that availed themselves of the quasi-public spaces for sculptural programmes. The exclusive *Fratres Arvales* were a state *collegium* of priests. It had only twelve members, from the highest aristocratic Roman families and even counted the Roman emperor among them. During the Republican period the primary function of the *collegium* was to serve the fertility goddess Dea Dia in order to secure a safe harvest. In the Augustan period its purpose was that of serving the imperial cult in Rome. The Arval Brothers sacrificed regularly for the well-being of the emperor at the Ara Pacis and they were involved when sacrifices on behalf of the emperor and his *Genius* were needed in Rome. Their activities are recorded in a series of inscriptions, the so-called Acts of the Arval Brothers, found in their sanctuary south-west of Rome (modern La Magliana). The sanctuary was consecrated to Dea Dia but it also comprised a *Caesareum* for the imperial cult, and had room for meeting facilities and other activities unrelated to the main goddess cult.³⁰ In 1570 nine statues of Roman emperors mounted on tall inscribed bases were found apparently *in situ* in a niche in the *Caesareum* and recorded in a drawing now in the Galleria degli Uffizi.³¹ The statues and the inscriptions have all been lost, except for a base for Marcus Aurelius,³² but seven of the nine bases are recorded from copies in *CIL VI*. These comprise bases for Hadrian from A.D. 119; Antoninus Pius from A.D. 139; the above mentioned Marcus Aurelius base from A.D. 163; Lucius Verus from A.D. 163 A.D.; Septimius Severus from A.D. 195; Caracalla from A.D. 199; and Gordian III from A.D. 241–244.³³ The bases characterize the emperors as Arval Brothers, as illustrated here by the base for Marcus Aurelius (fig. 45):

IMP CAES DIVI ANTONINI
 PII FIL DIVI HADRIANI
 NEPOTI DIVI TRAIANI
 PARTHICI PRONEPOTI
 DIVI NERVAE ABNEPOTI
 M AELIO AURELIO
 ANTONINO AUG P M
 TRIB POT XVII COS III
 FRATRI ARVALI



Fig. 45
 Statue base honouring
 Marcus Aurelius as Arval
 Brother found at the seat
 of the *collegium* of Arval
 Brothers in the sanctuary
 of Bona Dea at La Mag-
 liana. Marble. Height:
 1.2 m; Vatican Museums,
 Galleria Lapidaria.

To Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 17th time, consul for the fourth time, Arval brother, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan, Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva.

Furthermore, it is possible that four portraits showing the emperors Augustus, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus with a wreath of corn, *corona spicae*, depict the emperors in their role as Arval Brothers (figs. 45–49).³⁴ Although none of the portraits has a secure provenance they may with all probability be associated with the sanctuary at La Magliana for the following reasons: 1. the representation of a Roman emperor in the guise of an Arval Brother is exceptional. It seems logical to assume that the commissions were made on the initiative of the Arval Brothers for display in their sanctuary; 2. the dating of the portraits of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus corresponds to the date of the bases. Antoninus Pius is shown in a type, the so-called Typus Busti 284, which may have been conceived before he became emperor in 138;³⁵ Marcus is shown in his third portrait type which was conceived some time between 157/58 and 163/64 and which afterwards probably stayed in use throughout his reign.³⁶ Lucius Verus is shown in the so-called (wrongly-named) ‘Samtherrschafftypus’ created sometime before A.D. 160.³⁷ However, it is quite possible that there were more statues of the same emperor scattered around the large complex.³⁸ 3. the busts of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus may in fact be a pair, as they are of the same size; 4. all four portraits can be traced back to the late 18th century at least, and therefore derive from early

Fig. 46
Head of Antoninus Pius as Arval Brother restored on modern bust. Marble.
Height: 0.84 m. Paris,
Louvre.



Fig. 46

Fig. 47
Head of Augustus as Arval Brother. It is heavily restored but part of the wreath is ancient. Marble. Height: 0.33 m. Vatican Museums, Sala dei Busti 274.



Fig. 47

Fig. 48
Head of Lucius Verus as Arval Brother restored on modern bust. Marble.
Height: 0.82 m. Paris,
Louvre.



Fig. 48

Fig. 49
Head of Marcus Aurelius as Arval Brother restored on modern bust. Marble.
Height: 0.62 m. London,
British Museum.



Fig. 49

excavations³⁹; 5. the Renaissance drawing of the exedra find shows full statues and not busts. The Lucius Verus head has been heavily restored with a modern bust. The Marcus Aurelius head is restored with a modern bust, as is the Antoninus Pius head, and the Augustus head is made for insertion into a statue. In other words, nothing speaks against the notion that all four portraits were in fact originally made for statues. It should be remembered that even members of this exclusive *collegium* were not honoured with statues in Rome's public spaces, nor were members of the Roman elite able to show their loyalty towards the emperor by honouring him with statues in public, as this was a matter over which the Roman Senate held sway (discussed in more detail below p. 389). The *collegium* of the Arval Brothers thus functioned as an instrument through which the patricians in Rome could demonstrate their loyalty towards the emperor. At the same time the *collegium* provided the emperor with an opportunity to interact with this elite group.

The exclusive *collegium* of the Arval Brothers mirrors the structures of the *collegium* of *Iobacchi* found at Athens, a religious organization worshipping Dionysos. The organization, which was called a *Bakcheion* according to an inscription, can be dated back to the Hellenistic period. Although Dionysos was the main god worshipped in the *schola*, a long hall with two rows of interior columns on the West slope of the Akropolis, the discovery of a Hellenistic ruler portrait, and an altar to Hadrian suggests that serving the imperial cult was included in the activities of the organization. Among its members in the Roman period it boasted Herodes Atticus and other high-ranking personalities. A portrait bust found in the complex, of a woman from the early second century A.D., shows that portraits were also important in the self-representation of members and benefactors. The *collegium* demanded high entrance fees of its members. All these elements, including the portraits themselves, played a role in the interaction between the emperor and the members of this exclusive organization in the Roman East.⁴⁰

More generally, though, the structures of the *collegia* gave members of the lower classes access to a semi-public type of self-representation. They provided useful centres at which the emperor could interact with this sector of society.⁴¹

Houses and villas

In the Greek world in the Classical and Hellenistic periods sculptures, including portraits, were confined to public squares, gymnasias and in particular to sanctuaries. In spite of that, it is often argued that the origin of sculptural decor in Italian Republican houses and villas is to be

found in houses or palaces in the Hellenistic East. There is, however, very little evidence for sculpture in houses from the Hellenistic East except for that found in second-century B.C. Delos. The large number of sculptures surviving from Delos, which again include portrait sculpture, suggests that during the second century there was a change in attitude towards sculpture and its functions, so that it now became an important element in the furnishing of houses. This may well have been the result of contact between Greeks and Romans.⁴² Such a hypothesis is supported by evidence from houses on Delos, which suggests that sculptures, as well as portraits primarily functioned in a traditional cultic context. Unlike the sculptures in the West, it tended not to have a programmatic decorative theme nor would it evoke a particular lifestyle.

The earliest evidence for portraits in houses in the West is from Rome from the late-third or early-second century B.C., and it is centred on the ancestral masks, *imagines maiorum*.⁴³ The important public function of ancestral masks when carried in the funeral parades of the old clans in Rome was discussed above. Made of wax and extremely perishable we have no physical evidence either for their use and role in public parades or in the *domus*. We do have plenty of literary testimony, though this is not unproblematic.⁴⁴ Although the *armaria* were only opened on special occasions, as Harriet Flower stresses, the *imagines* were impressive to visitors to the *domus* by their presence alone, and reminded them of the importance of the family (fig. 50). The masks lost their significance during the Early Empire but portraits in other media replaced them. These were not confined to the noble Roman office-holding families. It is tempting to assume that portraits took on the meanings which were previously associated with ancestral masks. In Pompeii life-size bronze portraits in the herm format found in atria, some of which flanked the entrance to the *tablinum*, probably represent the ancestors of the owners of the houses (fig. 51 and plate 8).⁴⁵ As with the ancestral masks, a central function of these portraits was to remind visitors of the family's

Fig. 50
Grave relief commemorating the freedmen A. Aemilius Aristomachus and Aemilia Hilara. The depiction of busts in open cupboards refers to the *armaria* for ancestral masks in houses of aristocratic Roman families. Marble. Length: 0.34 m. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet.





social position in local society. They were therefore displayed in the most prominent spot in the house, for instance where the patron would conduct his *salutatio*. Portraits of the same local peer could therefore be encountered both in his private residence and in public spaces. A Tiberian portrait of a man found in Pompeii in the south colonnade of the peristyle court in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, has a copy which was discovered in the nearby small town of Herculaneum, for example (figs. 52–54).⁴⁶ At the same time the portraits were educational: they were meant to encourage good behaviour in the young generation and they kept the memory of ancestors alive. Their purpose was to function as *exempla*. When in miniature, portraits were probably displayed on the *lararium* and in addition to being part of the domestic cult they had the similar function of evoking the memory of ancestors (figs. 55–56).⁴⁷ The cult of the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias*, depicted as a *togatus capite velato*, was part of the regular worship of the household. Bronze statuettes and small portraits sat on the house altars and visitors and members of the household regularly made libations to the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* as well as to that of the emperor, *Genius Augusti*.⁴⁸ A series

Fig. 51
View through the atrium and *tablinum* of Casa di Lucio Cecilio Gioccondo in Pompeii, Reg. V 1,26. The herm representing the Genius of Lucius (see Plate 8) is seen flanking the opening to the *tablinum* on the left.



Fig. 52
Peristyle garden court of
Casa degli Amorini Do-
rati, Regio VI 16,7.38 in
Pompeii. It shows a re-
construction of the sculp-
tural display. The portrait
head Fig. 53 was found in
the third intercolumnia
of the south colonnade
on the left.

of third-century A.D. ivory portraits in miniature from a house in Ephesus representing emperors and their family members as well as private citizens were most likely used in the domestic cult. However, surprisingly few portraits have been found in houses.⁴⁹ In Ostia, for example, only a few houses are known to have contained sculpted portraits.⁵⁰ Here though, the pattern may be somewhat distorted, partly because of the lack of safe find spots, partly because less durable materials, such as painted panels and murals, furnished the houses. However, none of the latter materials had the significant monumental character of marble or bronze. What really mattered was the public context of the individual



Fig. 53
Early imperial portrait of a man found in Casa degli Amorini Dorati, Regio VI 16,7,38 in Pompeii (see Fig. 52). The neckline is cut for insertion but no "support" was found with the head. Marble. Height: 0.33 m. Pompei, Deposito del Foro.

Fig. 54
Copy of the portrait from Pompeii illustrated in Fig. 53 found in Herculaneum. Marble. Height of head only: 0.24m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



Fig. 55
Lararium in Casa dei Vettii Pompeii, Regio VI 15,1.



Fig. 56
Genii of the *pater familias* depicted as a statuette of a togatus *capite velato* probably from a *lararium*. Bronze. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

Fig. 57
Early Antonine bust of a man in himation tentatively identified as Jason Magnus owner of the house in Cyrene in which it was found. Marble. Height: 0.75 m. Cyrene Museum.



portrait. Houses of substantial size with obvious administrative and public functions such as the so-called House of Jason Magnus in Cyrene seem to boast both private and imperial portraits (fig. 57). In such cases the imperial portraits may have validated the public role of the house and its owner.⁵¹ In Rome itself where public spaces were to a large extent restricted to imperial representation right from the Iulio-Claudian period the houses (and the suburban villas as we shall see below) of the senatorial and governing elite were crucial spaces for demonstrating the owner's public role, for his self-representation and for his communication with the emperor. A house in Rome which was at some point owned by Fulvius Plautianus, the disposed praetorian prefect of Septimius



Fig. 58
Bust of Cato found in the house sitting on a tall base of tile with stucco.
Bronze. Height: 0,5 m.
Rabat Museum.

Severus, was furnished with imperial portraits of Lucilla and Macrinus and third-century private portraits as well as much earlier idealising sculpture. The dimensions of the house were substantial. The diversity of the sculptures found suggests that the late antique owners had kept the Antonine and Severan portraits belonging to the former owner and assembled an art collection over a longer period of time, similar to what

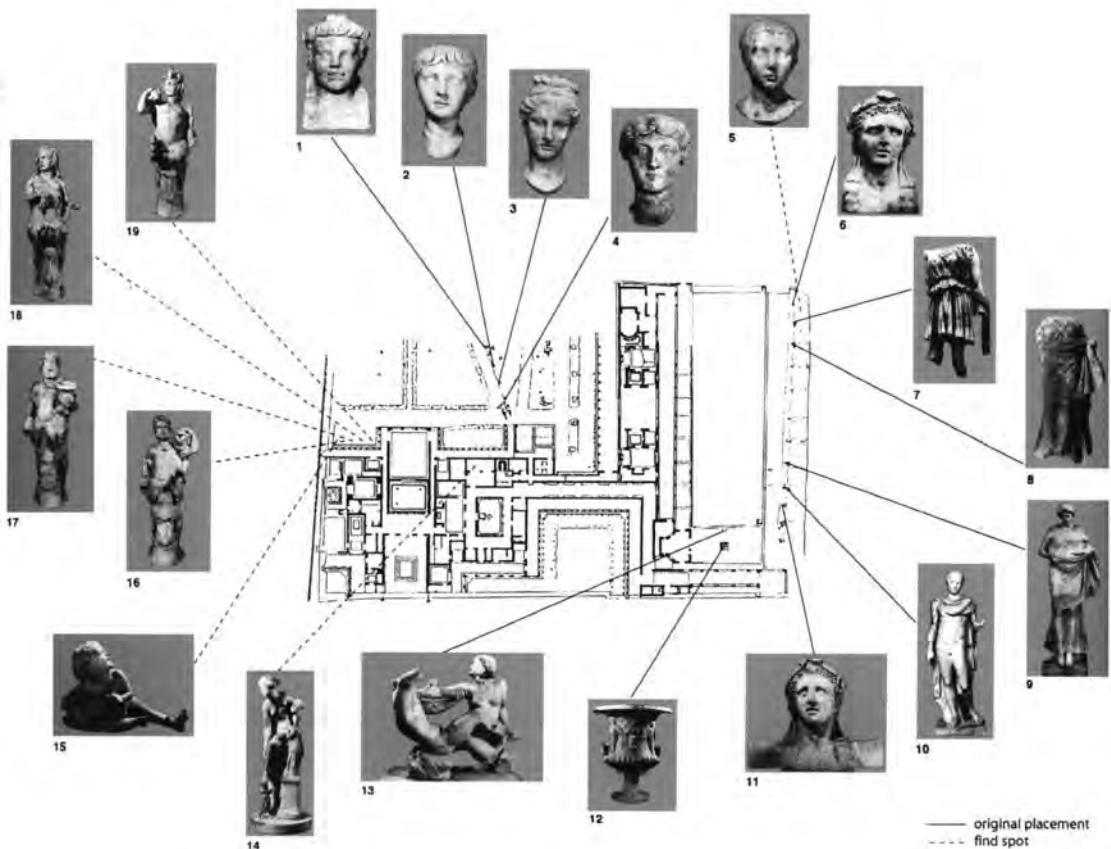


Fig. 59
Base for the bust of Cato.

can be found in late antique houses and villas around the Empire.⁵² It is possible that the status of portraits was reduced to that of collectibles, which would evoke associations of a particular lifestyle, of important ancestors, of political prominence or erudition. Portraits of Livia and Tiberius as well as portraits of private individuals from Hanghaus 2, Appartment VII in Ephesos derive from a possible late antique display and were perhaps collected to enhance the importance of their owners.⁵³ In addition, a bust of Marcus Aurelius also from Ephesos, from Hanghaus 2, Appartment VI may also derive from a late antique context.⁵⁴ Portraits in exotic materials may even have been commissioned or collected to suit the decorative and ideological scheme of an interior.⁵⁵ A series of old emperor portraits from a late antique villa in Chiragan in southern France⁵⁶ could have served the same purpose. Perhaps the famous bronze bust found in the so-called Maison a la Mosaïque de Vénus in Volubilis (modern Morocco) inscribed on the breast with CATO (for Cato the Younger Uticensis? who died in 46 B.C.) should be seen in this context rather than that of a special relationship between the owner and the figure portrayed (figs. 58–59). The large bust piece as well as the long and only slightly wavy stands of hair combed onto the forehead suggests, that the bust dates to the late-first century A.D. rather than to the period before Cato's death in 46 B.C.⁵⁷ It was found sitting on a tall base composed of tiles in a room in the house that has a mosaic dating around the reign of Severus Alexander, according to coins. The house was originally constructed during the late Antonine period and remained in use well into Late Antiquity.⁵⁸

However, the function and attitude towards the use of portraits in urban spaces during Late Antiquity was very different. Palaces of the governing elite came to replace the public spaces as settings for them. A number of portraits, some of which have been safely identified as representing governors, derive from these residences. In this context the portraits may have sanctioned the function of the residence as a seat of government.⁵⁹

Regarding the location of portraits, it is relevant to distinguish between those in the *domus*, town house and urban palace, in which public functions and aspects connected to the *negotium* took place on a daily basis, and on the other hand portraits displayed in the luxurious villa more closely associated with the *otium*. Not only were the portraits in different locations often differently displayed but they also served different purposes. From Pompeii portraits have been found not just inside the houses but also in the peristyles.⁶⁰ Peristyles functioned in the same way as gardens in villas. Portraits in such peristyle gardens attest to a new kind of life-style in the first centuries B.C. to A.D. The villa gardens were laid out elaborately and richly furnished with sculpture as



an expression of the hellenized lifestyle and the *otium* of the villa. Portraits from the luxurious suburban villas have often been found in these gardens. In his villa on the banks of the Tiber the orator M. Aquilius Regulus set up statues of himself in a colonnade.⁶¹ At the seaside villa at Oplontis, which may have belonged to Poppaea Sabina, Nero's consort, family portraits were displayed in the same setting as idealised sculpture and fountain sculptures in the north garden blending in with the trees on the boundaries between the more formal garden and the woodlands.⁶² The portraits of contemporaries in the villa at Oplontis were probably all placed on herm shafts (figs. 60–61).⁶³

The owners of the great Campanian villas became famous for their sophisticated leisure activities and intellectual lifestyles. The patronage of Greek intellectuals, like L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius' support of the Greek poet and philosopher Philodemus, the well-stocked libraries, which were often furnished with portraits as in the Villa dei Papiri by Herculaneum,⁶⁴ and the display of portraits of intellectuals living or dead

Fig. 60
Plan of the villa of Poppea at Oplontis with indication of find spot and original placement of sculptures discovered at the site.



Fig. 61
Reconstruction of a view
across the large pool
with sculptures placed in
front of trees and bushes
forming a transition into
the woodlands behind.
Among the sculptures
found here is a portrait
of a young boy of the
Iulio-Claudian period (no.
5 in Fig. 60).

alongside portraits of the owners of the villas, all reinforced the impression of such a lifestyle. Portraits displayed in a context which was very different from the public and more formal parts of the house or villa were freed from the constraints of the social role pressures of impressing visitors and functioning as *exempla* for descendants. The ornate villas were relaxed places, as we hear in Aulus Gellius' description of the villa at Cephisia outside Athens which belonged to Herodes Atticus, the Athenian sophist and Roman consul, who was a personal friend of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius:

...in the heat of the summer under the burning autumnal sun, we protected ourselves against the trying temperature by the shade of the spacious groves, its long, soft promenades, the cool location of the house, its elegant baths with their abundance of sparkling water, and the charm of the villa as a whole, which was everywhere melodious with splashing waters and tuneful birds.⁶⁵

In this luxurious villa and garden context portraits were meant to act as companions to the garden visitor, to reanimate and recall the memory of the dead and to replace those who were not present.⁶⁶ Portraits of *viri illustres*, in particular of Greek philosophers, not only bestowed specific connotations of erudition on the patrons represented in the 'real' portraits of the villa owner and his family, but they also evoked the at-



Fig. 62
Early imperial portrait statue of a man in himation found in the so-called Grand Peristyle of the Villa dei Papiri by Herculaneum. Marble. Height: 1.98 m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

mosphere of the Greek lifestyle. The frequent deployment of the herm format as portrait support in these villa contexts further evoked connotations of Greek *paideia* and the atmosphere of the Greek gymnasium. This Greek lifestyle and *luxus* was much admired by some leading families in early imperial Rome while others distrusted it. Pliny was upset with finding portraits of *viri illustres* in people's homes because he would rather see portraits of ancestors.⁶⁷

In the 'Grande Peristilio' in the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum there were statues of Greek men of letters such as Isocrates and Aischines, characterized by their bearded long-haired portraits and Greek costumes. They were displayed along with a portrait statue of a beardless short-haired man, likewise in Greek costume with the himation leaving part of the breast visible and wearing sandals (fig. 62). Probably because a number of Hellenistic ruler portraits have been found in the villa this statue has been identified as representing a Hellenistic ruler too. It is,

however, much more likely that he is a contemporary figure, perhaps the owner himself, portrayed in the Greek manner and set amongst Greek men of letters.⁶⁸ According to Cicero a person who wore Greek costume was synonymous with one who neglected his duties. The lifestyle associated with Greek culture was much detested by those who believed in the traditional Republican values.⁶⁹ In that case the person depicted in the himation statue in the Villa dei Papiri would have been one of the kinds of men about whom Pliny and Cicero complain; and it would only be in his private villa that he could allow himself to wear Greek costume and to be represented in it in sculpture. From the so-called Villa of Domitian in a period when 'Greekness' was of course was no longer a problem, come two equestrian statues with the rider in Greek costume.⁷⁰ Instead of being associated with ancestral pride, therefore portraits became synonymous with a particular lifestyle, and a natural part of the sculptural decor even in imperial villas.⁷¹

However, the monumental honorific inscription from the large villa of the Gens Volusia at Lucus Feroniae in Latium, 20km north of Rome, demonstrates that portraits could also serve a very public function in the villa. The inscription records the extraordinary posthumous honours which the Roman Senate under the authority of Nero awarded Lucius Volusius Saturninus, consul in A.D. 3 Volusius Saturninus was given a public funeral and nine different statues were to be set up in prime locations around the city of Rome (discussed in detail below, p. 439ff.). The inscription seems therefore to be a copy of an original inscription erected in a conspicuous location in Rome accompanying the honorific statues to which it refers. In the villa the inscription, which is cut on thin marble slabs lining the side of a podium, was found in a small room at the rear end of the so-called small peristyle. This room has tentatively been interpreted as a *sacellum* or domestic shrine, possibly because of the discovery of the inscription itself (fig. 63). The podium is suitable as a base for statues. The inscription seems to have been set up ca. 50 years later than the original at Rome,⁷² and the podium base could either have borne copies of some of the statues in Rome or, alternatively, the original statues, which would in that case have been moved from Rome to the villa. The discovery of three female portraits (of which one dates to the Trajanic period), a female torso and other marble portrait sculptures which could not possibly represent any of the statues described in the inscription, suggests that the group included portraits of other members of the family too.⁷³ The small *sacellum* could only have housed a few of the statues recorded in the inscriptions and they must therefore have been scattered around the villa. Nevertheless, if Volusius Saturninus' statues had been taken from Rome to the villa, then this removal should be seen in the light of the development of sculptural pro-



Fig. 63
The so-called *sacellum* in the villa of the Volusii by Lucus Feroniae with a cast of the inscription CIL VI 41075a.

grammes in the public spaces of Rome. The dearth of substantial epigraphical evidence permits us to conclude that during the Augustan period public spaces became more or less reserved for imperial sculptural programmes. Honorific statues for non-imperial persons gradually seem to have been forced out of Rome's public areas and the honouring of senators and other members of the elites seems by and large to have been relegated to their private properties – houses, villas and gardens in and around Rome. It has even been argued that as the senators lost much of their real power during the Late Republic and Early Empire the lifestyle in suburban villas compensated for this lost power.⁷⁴ In the villas senators were honoured with statues set up by themselves or family members but also by clients, cooperations, local groups, and provinces.⁷⁵ The statues of Volusius Saturninus may have been victims of this development and moved from their original prominent public locations. Perhaps the discovery of eleven statue bases commemorating members of the Asper family at Grottaferrata, a site identified as a villa of the Aspri family, should be interpreted in this context too. The statue bases have long dedicatory inscriptions similar to those on statue bases set up in public. They commemorate Gaius Iulius Asper, consul ordinarius along with his son Gaius Galerius Asper in A.D. 212 as well as *quaestores* of different provinces. Four of the statues representing C. Iulius Asper were set up by friends, three were set up by provinces, and one was set up by the man himself. A friend and a client dedicated the statues of Gaius Iulius Galerius Asper.⁷⁶ Records of the 17th century excavations at the site mention the discovery of

eleven toga statues, which should probably be associated with the bases.⁷⁷ The monumental group certainly has a 'public' character. It is possible though not definite that the hopes which the Asper family may have had of public honours, were relegated to this villa.⁷⁸ Inscriptions honouring L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianrus consul in A.D. 223, found on the Caelian hill in Rome and dedicated by a military organization, a province and a member of the military, probably also stood in the honorand's own house.⁷⁹ It was not just in Rome though, that patrons were reduced to being honoured in the private sphere. The stiff competition between benefactors in the municipal towns of Italy for a statue in public, and the competition among dedicators to be allowed to set up a statue of an important patron, have been discussed above. The phenomenon was probably universal throughout the Roman world. When a slave in Timgad set up a statue of his patron on a tall base with a carved inscription in the patron's own house, it was probably because the slave was not permitted to erect the statue in public.⁸⁰ On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that portraits were highly decorative in themselves and enhanced the interiors of these buildings, which is probably why the standard of workmanship in portraits found in villas is often very high. This is the case, for example, of a bust of a man found in the baths of a suburban villa near Teramo (see fig. 233). In the treatment of details of hair, in the polished surfaces and in the overall composition of head, bust, name-plate and bust-foot, this bust represents the very best of the Roman marble portrait tradition.⁸¹

Two examples may serve to illustrate how portraits were displayed and viewed in domestic contexts in the Roman East. A statue gallery found in a house or villa in Dion in Macedonia boasts four statues in the same pose, imitating a seated statue of Epicurus but with portraits which date from between the late Antonine period, with long hair and beards (fig. 64) to the late Severan period with short-cropped hairstyles and beards. Although the site still awaits publication and it is unclear whether all or some of the heads were added later, it is probable that the statues either show friends or companions of the owner of the property, perhaps men who shared a communal passion for Epicurean philosophy or else were famous contemporary philosophers themselves. In this particular context the seated format traditionally associated with men of letters emphasized the philosophical atmosphere and provided an ideal environment in which the owner could exercise his passion.⁸²

In addition to the excavated villa sites of Herodes Atticus a wealth of literary sources suggests that the portraits found in his various estates in Greece specifically served to commemorate the dead. Many of the portrait sculptures from Herodes' estates are posthumous commemorations



Fig. 64
Seated himation statues during excavation in a villa at Dion before the portrait heads were discovered.

of his wife, children or his adopted students, *trophimoi*.⁸³ It was, however, a commemoration which primarily had the purpose of placing an emphasis on the present and particularly on the importance of Herodes himself. Images of his deceased *trophimoi* in hunting poses were considered so spectacular that Philostratus commented on them.⁸⁴ These probably took the form of reliefs similar to the one found in the villa of Herodes at Luku. This seems to show Polydeukion, the most famous of the *trophimoi* whose portrait, characterized by a youthful beardless face and long sweeping fronthair fringes, is known from a number of busts found mainly in Greece. The relief depicts a naked youth wearing only a *chlamys* and leading a horse in a wooded landscape.⁸⁵ Such images along with the literary and epigraphic sources suggest that the *trophimoi* were commemorated in hero cults, just as we know Hadrian commemorated Antinous.⁸⁶ In his villa at Eua, however, Herodes' own portrait bust was displayed along with a bust of Hadrian (figs. 65–66).⁸⁷ The deployment of the bust format is pervasive in this large estate in Greece, which could easily have accommodated full size-statuary in the seated or standing format. The sculptural programme therefore formally evoked the urban sophistication of the Roman metropolitan portrait, which was now increasingly being represented in the bust format.

Fig. 65
Bust of Herodes Atticus
found at his villa at Eua
by Astros, Greece. Marble.
Astros Museum.

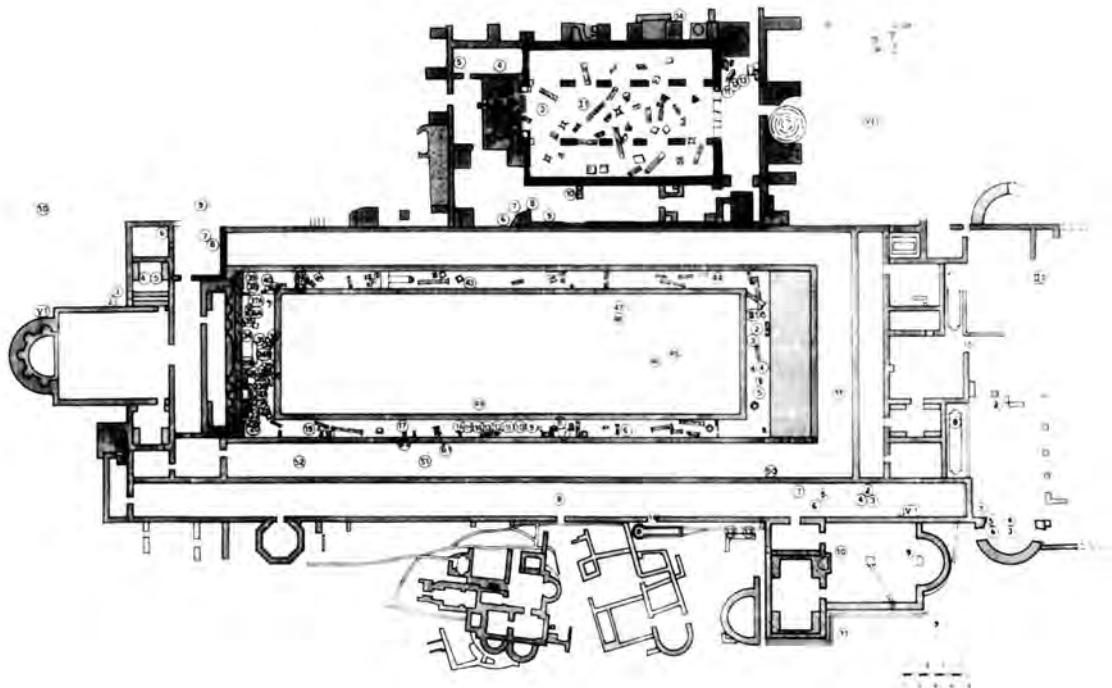
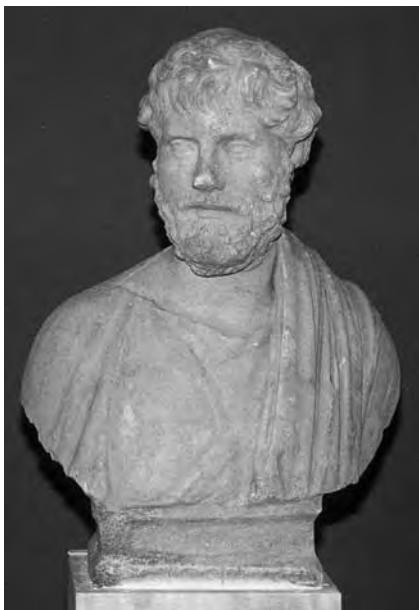


Fig. 66
Plan of the villa of Herodes Atticus at Eua by Astros, Greece. A number of the busts from the villa were discovered
in front of the wall of the main *nymphaeum* at the western end of the garden peristyle where they would have
been placed in niches.

Tomb

The portrait medium was just one of several options available to those who wanted to commemorate the dead. A stroll down the streets lined by tombs outside the city gates of Pompeii, reveals the diversity of architectural forms and iconographic themes which could be chosen. This is also true of the Via Appia in Rome or the necropolis in Hierapolis in Asia Minor, for example.⁸⁸ The tomb was where the soul, *manes*, dwelt and where it could be kept alive by offerings and by a share in the funerary meal or the banquets which took place there at regular intervals. Tombs were richly furnished to make the dead feel comfortable and at home; likewise the luxurious surroundings helped the survivors to overcome their sorrow at the death and to imagine that a happy time was awaiting their deceased relative or friend.⁸⁹ The monument and the form of the celebration chosen were dependent on a number of factors. The manner in which the dead were commemorated changed over time, but the portrait medium, whether sculpted or painted,⁹⁰ whether as a representation on its own or embedded into the funerary motifs (e.g. on reliefs), continued to play a key role in the funerary context. It could be argued that the Romans' concern for immortality and for perpetuating their memory is best embodied in the portrait medium.⁹¹ The character and the achievements of the deceased – praised in the *laudatio* held at the funeral⁹² – could be perpetuated in the funerary epigram and above all through visual representation.⁹³

A funerary context is by far the most commonly recorded find spot for sculpted portraits around the Empire.⁹⁴ Case studies of the sites of Ostia, Pompeii and Cyrene have revealed that the majority of the portraits sculpted in the round with a secure provenance from all three sites, covering the period from the Late Republic into the third century A.D., derive from a funerary context.⁹⁵ Although this conclusion is based only on a few sites, the ubiquity of portraits from the funerary context is nevertheless evident, and when all the portrait representations on funerary reliefs, altars, and sarcophagi are also taken into account, the funerary context appears crucial. Most of the portraits described as deriving from a 'funerary context' or 'tomb', are, however, without any record or description of the precise location in which they were found, and it is therefore impossible to know exactly how they were displayed. But enough evidence is available to show that the portraits were displayed inside tombs or tomb enclosures or in the open air. Portraits set up outdoors can constitute an integral feature of the architecture of the tomb, for instance if they are placed in a niche on the facade of the tomb or in an aedicula. Such tombs were common in the Late Republic and Early Empire in Rome and

Italic cities, but in the provinces, for example in Cyrene, they remained popular during the whole second and possibly into the third century A.D.⁹⁶ Portraits may also have been displayed freestanding in front of a tomb or they may have served as tomb markers on their own.⁹⁷

What determined the choice of a funerary monument and the celebrations held to commemorate the dead? Franz Cumont and other scholars in the first half of the 20th century believed that Roman funerary symbolism was deeply rooted in religion, funerary rites and beliefs about the after-life.⁹⁸ Funerary monuments and symbols were therefore interpreted in the context of religious belief. During the last quarter of the 20th century this approach has been superseded by one that puts much more emphasis on the Romans' desire for social status and impressive self-representation. It is argued that the Romans were more interested in showing off social status than articulating personal grief or beliefs, and that the physical character of funerary portraits and tombs and their impact on the outside world was of central importance.⁹⁹ More recent studies however have tended to judge this emphasis on the role of social status as excessive. These studies view funerary symbolism as a broad mixture of concern for social status and expression of belief about the after-life as well as seeing in it the expression of personal grief and emotions.¹⁰⁰ Rank, social status, financial factors, cultural affiliations, personal preferences, grief and emotion, individual tastes, family and local traditions, and beliefs about the after-life, might all be contributing elements in the modes of representation chosen at individuals' tombs.

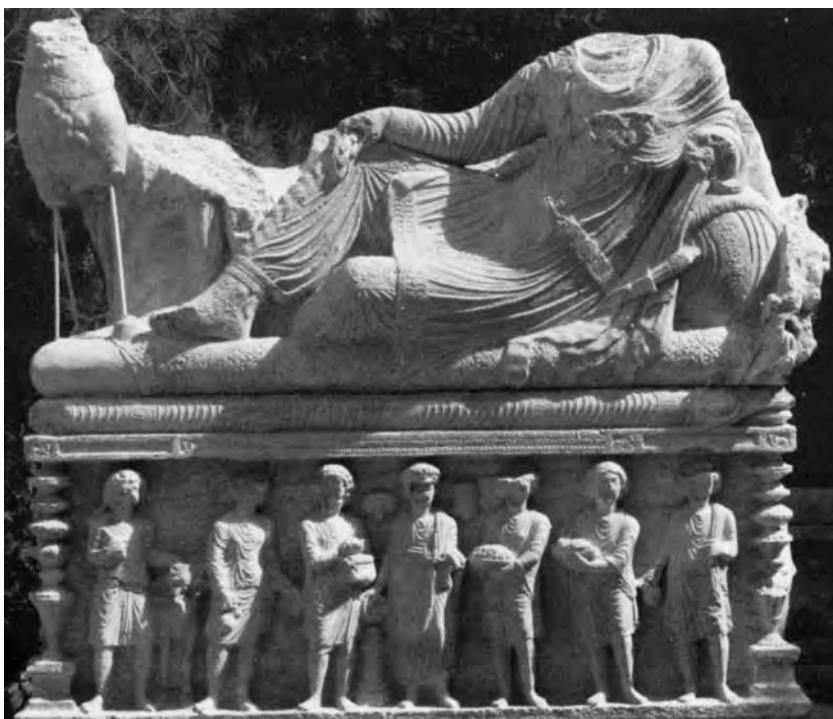
Nevertheless, whether or not the funerary monument was on show before a wide audience or just the family, visual representation seems to have been crucial. The tomb had to have an appropriate size and be constructed from the right materials. The city administration could give special honours to the deceased by granting a public funeral or by undertaking either the whole construction of the tomb or part of its decoration.¹⁰¹ This shows how the borders between the private and public spheres were also blurred in the funerary context. In most cases though, it was left to the survivors to take care of the tomb, the funeral itself, and the upkeep of the tomb afterwards. Tombs might be commissioned before the patron had passed away and there is evidence that some patrons even commissioned a second tomb – probably because the first one was not good enough.¹⁰² Other patrons gave careful instructions in their wills regarding the location and construction of their tomb,¹⁰³ with details about the materials to be used, what the portrait sculpture should look like, and even about the soft furnishings such as mattresses and blankets which should be kept at the tomb for the comfort of the sur-

vivors. This is expressed in the will of Sextus Julius Aquilia, an otherwise unknown Gaul:¹⁰⁴

The shrine is to contain a recess, in which there is to be set a seated statue of myself, made of the finest, imported marble, or else of the finest bronze, at least five feet in height. Just inside the recess there is to be a sedan chair, with two seats on either side of it, all made of imported marble. There are to be covers kept there, which are to be spread out on the days when the memorial shrine is opened, and there are to be two rugs, two dining cushions of equal size, two cloaks and a tunic. In front of this monument is to be placed an altar, carved in the finest style from the best Luna marble, and in this my bones are to be laid at rest. The shrine is to be closed with a slab of Luna marble, in such a way that it can be both opened and closed again without difficulty...

It is further stated that the shrine is to be placed amid orchards and by a lake. In this case it is clear that the portrait and the accompanying inscription commemorating the deceased were intended to keep his memory alive; the pleasant surroundings of the tomb, its expensive materials as well as the blankets and cushions which it was to contain were intended to make the survivors' worship of their dead a more pleasant and comfortable experience.¹⁰⁵ Inscriptions found on the outside and occasionally also on the inside of tombs provided information about the identity of the deceased. Some inscriptions were very brief and just gave a name, while others listed careers, achievements and the *cursus honorum* in which a man had distinguished himself in public; women being mainly praised for their domestic virtues. Still others voiced personal expressions of affection and sorrow, though within a set of conventions. Numerous tomb epigrams from around the Empire are directly addressed at the chance passer-by: "stand still in front of this marble stele, traveller, ..." or "stand still traveller and read".¹⁰⁶ Such epigrams point towards a preoccupation with perpetuating one's memory. However, it was not always just one role of the deceased that was recaptured. A tomb could contain several different images of the dead.¹⁰⁷ In her tomb on the Via Appia the freedwoman Claudia Semne was commemorated with at least five different images according to an inscription. Three of these showed her in the guise of Spes, Venus and Fortuna and were intended to reflect aspects of Claudia Semne's character;¹⁰⁸ Priscilla, wife of the important imperial freedman T. Flavius Abascantus was likewise commemorated in her tomb on the Via Appia with images showing her as Maia, Venus, Ceres and Ariadne.¹⁰⁹ The funerary monument of consul and archon of Athens, C. Iulius Philopappus, erected within the city of Athens, represented Philopappus several times in diverse public roles, wearing either a Greek himation or a Roman toga. In Ephesus, Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, proconsul of Asia Minor, was commemorated by his son with no fewer than five statues on the facade of his

Fig. 67
Sarcophagus with the deceased represented as a caravan leader on the lid and as a Roman citizen in toga on the front of the sarcophagus. From Palmyra. Third century A.D. Limestone. Palmyra Museum



library – which was also his tomb – within the city of Ephesos. (see fig. 26) Two of the statues were equestrian and flanked the stairs to the library, the northern base being inscribed in Latin while the southern base was in the Greek, but the content of the texts were nearly identical.¹¹⁰ In the town of Odemish in Asia Minor a father wanted the city, towards which he had been very generous, to set up two portraits of his deceased son in Aphrodisian marble on either side of the entrance to the tomb.¹¹¹ Again, these two images may have shown the son in different roles. An early-third century sarcophagus from Palmyra shows the dead man reclining on the lid as a caravan leader in local costume with a sleeved caftan, long trousers, boots, jewellery and weapons and (the protome of) a riding horse next to him (fig. 67). On the frieze adorning the sarcophagus front he is represented in the toga making a sacrifice but with his Palmyran priest headgear in the relief background.¹¹² In Asia Minor a certain Nonnia Paula was represented by no less than 13 painted portraits in the tomb or heroon of her husband.¹¹³ It is most likely that each of the images pointed to a particular characteristic or role assumed by the dead perhaps in his public citizen and military life, while some of the representations of Nonnia Paula may have expressed her *sophrosyne*. Multicultural identities could be expressed not only

through multiple portraits representing the same person but by including portraits of one's relatives in the tomb decoration. The tomb statues of a local couple from Niederingelheim close to Mainz in Rheinhessen, Germany, from the early first century A.D., show the man in the quintessential Roman costume, the toga, which was highly fashionable. The woman, probably his wife, wears a local costume, a dress whose folds are collected in a metal ring between the breasts. The man, so it seems, quickly adopted the Roman fashion in an area that was gradually coming under Roman influence while the woman remained faithful to local traditions.¹¹⁴

We have seen above how the public spaces in Rome gradually came to be reserved for imperial sculptural programmes during the early imperial period. The funerary context seems, though, to have played a vital role in the self-representation of members of the higher orders, not just during the imperial period when the use of public spaces in Rome was restricted but also during the Republic. Although some powerful families preferred to bury their dead in the countryside by their villas, perhaps in a landscaped garden,¹¹⁵ the most popular burial ground was just outside a city's gates along the main roads and ideally in the front row (see plate 4). This area was normally controlled by the city and an allotment could be granted to a deserving citizen as a special honour.¹¹⁶ In Rome the Campus Martius inside the city *pomerium* was a particularly desirable place for burials. Similar honours are recorded in the eastern part of the Empire where Roman officials were often buried within the city, as in the case of the *archon* Philopappus in Athens. Intra urban burial was also common in Asia Minor, but here the gymnasium seems to have been the preferred spot.¹¹⁷

Inscriptions and literary sources mention how rich aristocrats commemorated their dead in spectacular processions through Rome, with gladiatorial shows which were sometimes depicted on the tomb itself,¹¹⁸ or with a variety of funerary benefactions such as the funding of athletic games, baths and other public services.¹¹⁹ Many tombs of Roman aristocratic families have been identified in the necropoleis of Rome by their inscriptions. The evidence suggests that the size of both the inscription and of the monument was related to the social rank of the deceased – the higher up they were on the social ladder the bigger the monument.¹²⁰ However, we know of only a few aristocratic tombs with sculptural decorations such as those of the Scipiones, Marcelli and Licinii (plate 5).¹²¹ In all three tombs, emphasis is laid on the family, and ancestral portrait galleries seem to have been of prime importance. The first burial chamber of the Licinian tomb may have been an ancestral gallery with walls decorated with small ornamented niches, which held the portrait busts of famous ancestors and newly deceased members of

the family. The tomb remained in use from the beginning of the first century A.D. into the third century A.D.¹²² Portrait sculptures of members of the Scipio family may have been displayed on the facade of their tomb outside the Porta Capena on the Via Appia,¹²³ similar to the statues of Sulpicia Platorina and Marcus Artorius Geminus flanking the entrance to a house-type tomb found by Ponte Sisto in the Via Lungara.¹²⁴ Over life-size statues of a seated male and female figure, possibly a married couple, from a tomb on the Via Casilina near Tor Pignatara may also have come from such a setting. The male figure is draped in a rich toga seated on an impressive but fragmented chair, perhaps a *sella curulis*. The woman is draped in a tunica and mantle and is seated with her legs crossed; she rests her (missing) head in her right hand in a posture, which recalls that of well-known muse types. The carving is excellent and details show the richness and luxury of the material of the costumes. The seated format was used in public spaces for office-holding men. For a woman it may indicate high-ranking priesthoods or refer to the long tradition of representing the model woman at her household or toilette duties. Considering that the statue reflects a well-known Muse type it may even in this context refer to her intellectual interests. There is little doubt therefore that this monument belonged to one of the office-holding aristocratic families of early second-century A.D. Rome. However, there is no evidence that they were part of the kind of ancestral gallery that we encounter in the Republican period (plates 10–11).¹²⁵

The vast majority of tomb epigrams from Rome do not inform us about the social status of the deceased.¹²⁶ Members of certain groups, in particular freedmen and *Augustales*, exposed to social pressure and proud of their newly gained status, were more eager to include social relations in their tomb epigrams.¹²⁷ Perhaps also as a consequence of the strong interest amongst modern scholars in analysing the self-representation of the lower social classes, not to mention the whole problem of identifying freedmen in the epigraphic material, a somewhat distorted picture has emerged. Not only does it seem that it was mainly freedmen and craftsmen who were commemorated in the necropoleis of Rome and the Italic cities, but also that upwards mobility, social climbing, success in work, intellectual cultivation and wealth were the key elements in funerary symbolism in Rome in the first century B.C.–A.D.¹²⁸ Two important issues become clear: First, we can see that monumental burials were not restricted to any particular class. Second, there may have been (but certainly was not always) a relationship between the social status of the deceased and their choice of self-representation. While some freedmen chose, like the aristocratic families, to be commemorated with a portrait bust but in a communal columbarium in a small *loculus* among several hundreds of *loculi*,¹²⁹ the so-called freedmen reliefs represented



Plate 9

Portrait of a woman in the nude. The statuary type reflects the so-called Capitoline Venus type. Marble. Height: 1.91 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Plate 10

Statue of a seated togatus on a *sella curulis* deriving from a tomb on Via Casilina.
Found with statue of a woman Plate 11. Marble. Height: 1.17 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.



Plate 11

Statue of a woman in the guise of a muse figure found with seated male statue.
Marble. Height: 1.27 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.

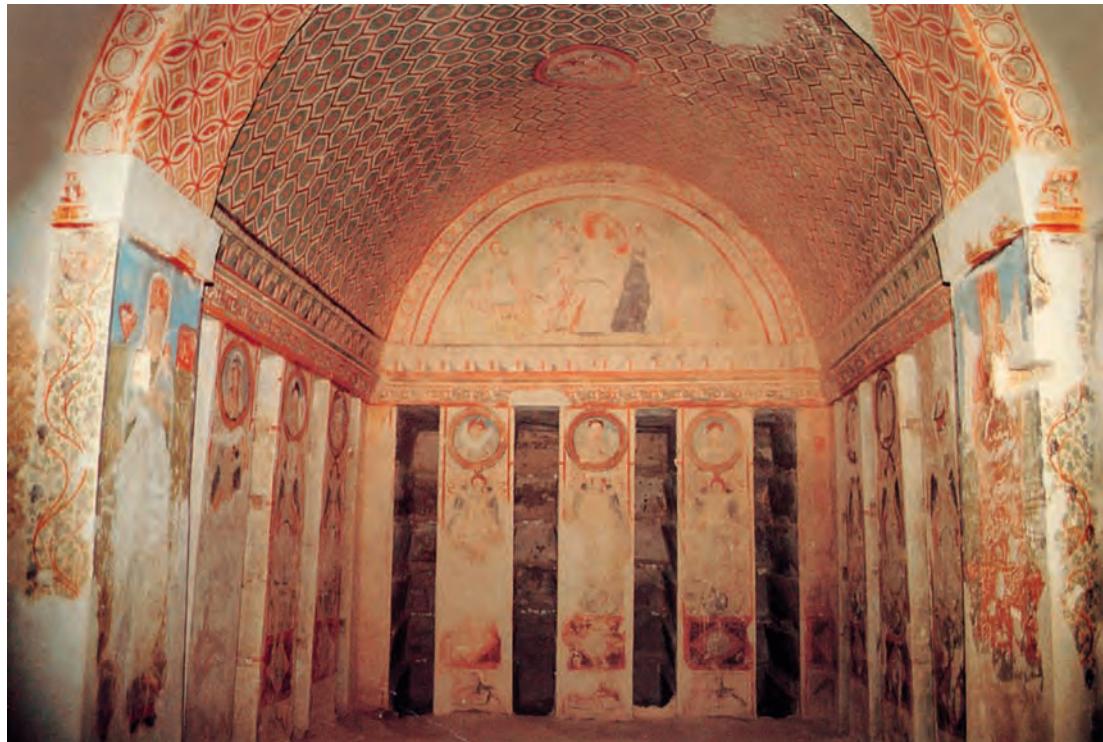


Plate 12
Wall decoration from the so-called Tomb of the Three Brothers in Palmyra, probably painted between A.D. 160 and 191. Portraits in shield-shaped frames are carried by large Victoria figures balancing on celestial spheres.



Fig. 68
Columbarium II Vigna Codini with the three busts found *in situ* now in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

a commemoration used almost uniquely by freedmen (fig. 68).¹³⁰ Similarly, during the late first century and into the second century A.D., craftsmen in Rome liked to be commemorated in reliefs showing them at work,¹³¹ and it has been argued that members of the senatorial order too, used specific iconographies on sarcophagi to commemorate their dead.¹³² In the provinces, the so-called mummy portrait from Roman Egypt forms a parallel to these examples because it was used mainly by a 'Hellenised' upper class.¹³³ The long, framed late Republican reliefs from Rome and the Italic towns, with frontal half figures of men and women shown as if they are looking out through a window, almost exclusively commemorate freedmen and their families, as the accompanying inscriptions inform us. The reliefs adorned the outside of tombs just above eye-level and were meant to attract the attention of passers-by. This can be observed in the three reliefs (about 270 have survived scattered in museums around the world) which remain *in situ* on the Via Statilia and the Via Appia.¹³⁴ The earliest freedmen's reliefs date to the second quarter of the first century B.C. and are carved – initially in limestone or travertine and later almost exclusively in marble¹³⁵ – in a style which attempts to bring them close to the ideals of the free-standing honorific statues and tomb statues of aristocrats of the Late Republic. The notion of old age as a respected state, as well as a general sense of calmness and dignity, exude from these reliefs; young men often wear the newly acquired rank-fixed *toga praetexta* and children the *bulla*. Most



Fig. 69
Freedmen's relief commemorating members of
the Servilii with the small Lucinus to the far
right. Ca. 25 B.C. Travertine. Length: 1.97 m.
Rome, Villa Wolkonsky.

of the reliefs show four or more people, often two married couples of two generations and sometimes three, those dead as well as those still living. The juxtaposition of different couples is clearly part of an attempt to create a genealogy similar to what is observed in the tombs of the aristocracy, but from forefathers in slavery (not represented), to the next generation of freedmen, to the freeborn generation. Sometimes the person who set up the relief may be among those represented in the reliefs.¹³⁶ This is typically a freedman friend and his wife. In that case the dedicatory has availed himself of the opportunity to remind the viewer of his own importance by including his or her own portrait among the images of those being commemorated in death.

In the early versions of this genre no children are represented. They make their appearance during the last quarter of the first century B.C. The earliest probable example is a relief commemorating the Servilii, which dates from ca. 30–20 B.C. (fig. 69).¹³⁷ From this point on children often take up the most prominent space of the relief, in the middle, a trend that is indicative of a shift from an emphasis on retrospective dignity to the depiction of a prospective hope expressed in ambitions for the children as full Roman citizens. This change, if not actually sparked by the focusing of the newly established imperial rulership on the consolidation of heirs and therefore on the role of children within the family, it was certainly sustained by it. However it did not alter the fact that the most important message of the reliefs was to signify the social status of the deceased to a wide audience of passers-by (fig. 70).

Infants were rarely commemorated in tomb epigrams or tomb sculpture during the Roman Empire. The death rate among infants was extremely high, with probably less than 75% surviving the first year and only about 50% reaching the age of five.¹³⁸ The lack of infants commemorated in tomb epigrams may result from the fact that the Romans



Fig. 70
Tomb of the Rabirii on
Via Appia by the fifth
miglia with a plaster cast
of the relief now in
Rome, Museo Nazionale
Romano, Terme di Dio-
cleziano. Late first centu-
ry B.C. Marble. Length:
1,85 m.

were not interested in recording any information on infant mortality.¹³⁹ Furthermore, a child below three by law received only limited mourning in principle, and perhaps even none at all.¹⁴⁰ In the visual arts swaddled infants occasionally show up in grave reliefs but mainly as an ‘attribute’ of a family or even a *nutrix* or a young mother, and it is these figures who seem to be commemorated rather than the infant (fig. 71).¹⁴¹ It is almost impossible to determine the age (and sex) of a young child. However, one sarcophagus memorializes Octavius Isochrysus, who lived for only one year and 30 days,¹⁴² and an early third-century A.D. stele with the naked bust of a young boy commemorates Lucius Aelius Melitinus who lived only 13 months and nine days.¹⁴³ These monuments demonstrate that there were exceptions but children above the age of five were mourned much more extensively.¹⁴⁴ We have already heard how the grieving Regulus commissioned all sorts of portraits of his deceased son and how Pliny the Younger worked hard on a funerary speech for

Fig. 71

The young mother Scaevin(i)a Procilla is commemorated by her parents. She died at the age of eighteen and holds her swaddled infant in her arms. Imperial period. Marble. Height: 1 m. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile.



the deceased son of his friend Spurrina. A small funerary relief in Villa Albani seems to show a mourning father holding the bust of his dead son.¹⁴⁵ And a number of busts showing sick and sad-looking children may have been commissioned as funerary images.¹⁴⁶ Children's sarcophagi, often commemorating the life cycle of a child are plentiful,¹⁴⁷ and children as individuals remain a focus in funerary art from the Late Republic.

During the first century A.D. and continuing into the third, tomb architecture in Rome and in Italian cities became more closed, favouring the kind of décor that focussed on the inside rather than the outside of the tomb. Altars, klinae, stelae, sarcophagi, portrait busts and statues were displayed within enclosing walls or in proper tomb chambers. Most images of the deceased were therefore not visible to the random passer-by. Access was limited to the family in the widest sense or to members of the burial club in the large corporate tombs. But ancestral galleries continued to feature as part of a tomb's interior décor. We see this in a tomb of the Trajanic period on the Via dei Sepolcri in Ostia. It boasted an ancestral gallery of a family of *Augustales*, which had six small reliefs



Fig. 72
Statuette of a woman in the guise of Venus. Hadrianic period. Found in the tomb of the Manilii on Via Appia with Figs. 73–77. Marble. Height: 1.17 m. Vatican Museums, Magasino.

Fig. 73
Heavily restored statuette of a man in the guise of Mercury. Probably Hadrianic. Found in the tomb of the Manilii on Via Appia with Figs. 72, 74–77. Marble. Height: 1.28 m. Vatican Museums, Grotte Greche 187.

with profile portraits. They appear to represent married couples from three generations and were probably displayed inside the tomb as vertical cover slabs for urn *loculi*.¹⁴⁸ The vast majority of the tombs were constructed to commemorate one generation of the family and we may recall here how Trimalchio wanted inscribed on his tomb epigram the point that the tomb was for his use only: "This monument is not to descend to my heir."¹⁴⁹ Such a family gallery furnished the chamber tomb of the Manilius family in Vigna Moroni on the Via Appia (figs. 72–77). The tomb contained two statuettes *in formam deorum*, a mature man represented in the guise of Mercury and an elder women in the guise of Venus as well as five life-size busts of Manilia Hellas, L. Manilius Primus, L. Manilius Faustus and two unnamed busts one of a woman and one of a man.¹⁵⁰ However, although the sculptural programme may have a single generation of the second quarter of the second century



Fig. 74
Bust of Lucius Manilius Primus. His clean-shaven full face has parallels in portraiture of the Hadrianic period but the draping of the bust dates it to the Antonine period.
Marble. Height: 0.73 m.
Vatican Museums,
Galleria Chiaramonti.

Fig. 75
Bust of L. Manilius Faustus. Antonine period.
Marble. Height: 0.53 m.
Vatican Museums,
Galleria Chiaramonti.

A.D. as its principal subject matter, the tomb was constructed to contain numerous burials of future generations of kinsmen and freedmen of the family. This was not just to limit expenses but also to secure the maintenance of the tomb if the task was not undertaken by a *collegium*.¹⁵¹ The second century A.D. necropolis under the basilica of St. Peter, with streets flanked by brick-built house type tombs boasts similar large family tombs. The biggest of the tombs, the so-called Mausoleum H with a main chamber well over 25 m², can be dated to the Antonine period and was built by the freedman C. Valerius Herma (figs. 78, 83).¹⁵² This has rows of niches on the walls in the forecourt for urns as well as both *arkosolia* and niches for urns in the main burial chamber. It housed free-standing sarcophagi and may have contained up to 250 corpses over a period of two hundred years. However, it was built and decorated by the owner while still alive to commemorate himself and his already deceased wife and children. The death of a son at the age of four and a daughter at the age of 12, perhaps during the Antonine plague



which struck Rome in 166, may have inspired Caius Valerius Herma to begin building the tomb.¹⁵³ It contains stucco-decorated walls, with portrait statues of family members mingling with portrait statues of men of letters, statues of gods, and herms and reliefs, primarily with Dionysiac themes. The tomb also contained sculpted marble and stucco portraits and the only securely identified plaster death masks to survive from the Roman world, one of which is of a small child with the eyes closed. This mask has been tentatively identified with the son who died at the age of four by A. Mielsch and H. von Hesberg. They further suggest that the death mask may have served as the model for a gilded stucco portrait of a young boy also found in the tomb. This would imply that we have here the only extant example of the transformation from real likeness into the artistic expression of likeness.¹⁵⁴ Although the hypothesis is appealing, Mielsch and von Hesberg rejects it arguing that the gilded stucco bust clearly dates to the early third century. Other boys, named in the inscriptions as *alumni*, foster sons, were also buried in the tomb

Fig. 76
Heavily restored head on alien bust representing an unknown female member of the Manilii. Hadrianic. Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti.

Fig. 77
Bust of Manilia Hellas. The details of the eyes and the large-crystal marble of which the bust is made are identical to that of the bust of Manilius Faustus Fig. 75 and they probably formed a pair. Height: 0.59 m. Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti.

Fig. 78

Section through Mausoleum H in the necropolis under St. Peter in Rome showing ante chamber with *loculi* and the stucco decorated west wall with a togatus, perhaps C. Valerius Herma, the builder of the tomb.

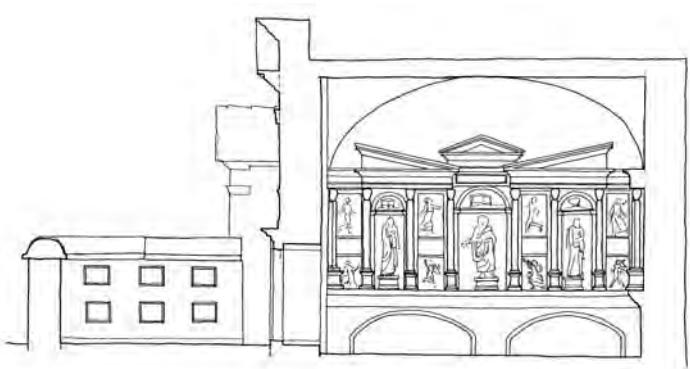


Fig. 79

The west wall of
Mausoleum H.





Fig. 80
Detail of C. Valerius Herma on the west wall of Mausoleum H.

Fig. 81
One of the philosopher figures from the north wall of Mausoleum H.

during later periods, and it could be one of those depicted in the death mask and the gilded stucco portrait. Many important questions are at issue here, relating to what is at stake in Roman funerary portraiture and iconography. The full-figure family portraits in relief on the walls reflect a desire for public honorific statues and represent the idealised public face of the Valerii. The display of family portraits alongside images of philosophers lends them certain associations of erudition, and perhaps refer to the activities they engaged in while enjoying *otium*.¹⁵⁵ On the one hand, the death masks and the portrait busts bring comfort to the survivors and keep alive the memory of the dead; on the other, the Dionysiac themes in the decoration refer to their happy afterlives.

Portraits also played an important role in family tombs in the East. Continuing in the Hellenistic tradition portraits were displayed in *heroae* within the city boundaries, as for example the one found at Palatiano near Kilkis in northern Greece (fig. 84). The small structure, which measures 4.1×3.6 m, contains at the rear end a podium type statue base with inscriptions, carrying four full-figure portrait statues. The inscriptions inform us that a family is commemorated and that it consists of



Fig. 82
Death mask of a small
child with closed eyes
and open mouth found in
Mausoleum H. Plaster.
Height: 0.137 m. Vatican,
Fabbrica di S. Pietro,
Archivio.



Fig. 83
Gilded stucco head of a
boy of the late Severan
period found in Mausoleum H.
Height: c. 0.26 m.
Vatican, Fabbrica di San
Pietro, Archivio.

a married couple, Patraos and Ammia, and their three sons Zoilos, Alexander and Medes. Four statues were found showing three male figures and one female figure in the guise of The Small Herculaneum Woman. Two of the male statues are draped in large mantles, *pallia*, while the third male figure, probably the father and husband Patraos, is represented in heroic nudity in the guise of Hermes Richelieu.¹⁵⁶

The disappearance of freedmen's reliefs in Rome and the Italian cities during the later first century A.D. was possibly a consequence of the rise in popularity of new tomb types in which the decorative focus was on the inside rather than on the outside of the tomb. Freedmen and free-born citizens now preferred to be commemorated in the so-called *kline* monuments, which first appeared in Rome during the middle of the first century A.D. and in portrait statues representing the dead in divine guises, *in formam deorum* as described in a tomb epigram.¹⁵⁷

From the late first into the early third century A.D., a number of tomb portraits of children and adults, mainly from Rome, depicted the dead *in formam deorum* (fig. 85). Such images consisted of a portrait head with the individual features and a body or bust reflecting a statue type or attributes of a deity. A grave stele from Augusta Emerita in Spain commemorates the small Iulianus who lived only to be less than seven months

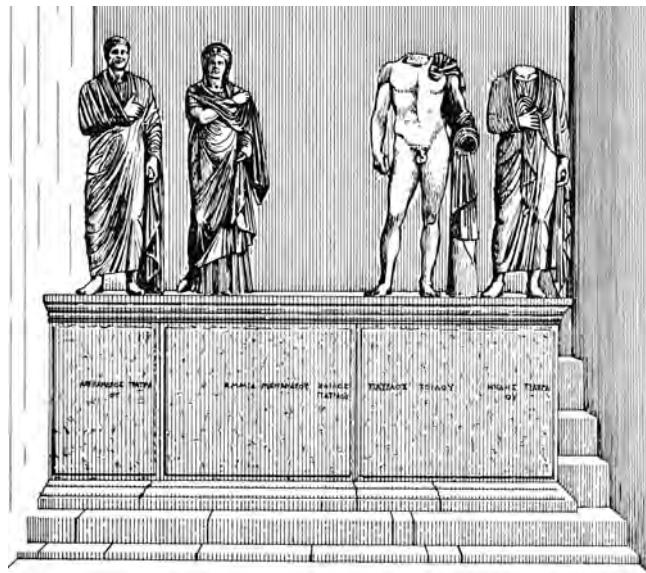


Fig. 84
Reconstruction of an Antonine family group from a heroon tomb in Kilkis.

old. According to the bilingual inscription in Greek and Latin it was his parents who erected the stele:

You who are passing by this tomb, my mother Gaiena and my father Sosthenes set up this stele for me, much lamenting for the loss of a small child. For my seventh month was not yet complete. My name is Iulianus.

The stele is unusual in several ways. Firstly, the bilingual inscription and the names of the parents suggest that they may have been Greek immigrants; secondly Iulianus is very young to be mourned with such an elaborate monument; and thirdly, he is represented in *formam deorum* as a small cupid.¹⁵⁸ Although there is evidence that this type of representation was also used to commemorate Roman citizens it was particularly popular among freedmen in Rome. We have already seen how the wives of freedmen Claudia Semne and Priscilla were commemorated in divine guises. Roman women were honoured in tomb epigrams almost exclusively in relation to their private domestic lives, for their chastity, marital fidelity, wifely and motherly devotion, and their dedication to house-work.¹⁵⁹ Some tomb epitaphs commemorating women even had erotic overtones. A second century epigram from Rome erected in honour of the freedwoman Allia Potestas by her patron Allius, epitomizes this. Allia Potestas is praised for her fine character and her beauty. But she is also praised for her sexual attraction, her white complexion, her snow-white breasts with their well-shaped nipples, her smooth silk-like skin, her lack of body-hair and her hips. To seek comfort at her death, Allia Potes-

Fig. 85

Funerary stele commemorating small Iulianus.
Marble. Height: 0.89 m.
Collection of the Marquises de Mirabel.



tas' patron and the two young lovers also mentioned in the inscription set up her image which they adorned with garlands.¹⁶⁰

Perhaps the portrait, which Allius commissioned to represent Allia Potestas and placed in his own tomb, was intended to represent her sexual attractiveness not unlike the statue of a woman in the guise of Venus (plate 9). The statues of mature sometimes elder women in the guise of a fully naked Venus, which might seem somewhat bizarre to the modern viewer, are thought to allude to women's productive sexuality, fidelity and even chastity. In the case of Allia Potestas she is commemorated in



Fig. 86
Reclining couple as fountain figures found in a bath complex near Viterbo. Remains of a lead tube show that it functioned as a fountain. Second quarter of the third century A.D. Marble. Length: 1.59 m. Paris, Louvre.

the epigram as having the traditional female virtues, but her body is presented as reminding her patron of her sexual attraction and the lust which he felt towards her.¹⁶¹

Contrary to previous assumptions that portraits in divine guises solely or primarily derive from funerary context, find spots outside this strongly suggest that portraits in divine guises were also employed to represent the living. While the majority of private portraits in the guise of a divinity in relief obviously derive from a tomb context, particularly those on sarcophagi, a substantial number of portrait sculptures in divine guises in the round have also been found in semi-public and public spaces.¹⁶² They were therefore not only expressive of a desire for a happy afterlife, as when a young boy is represented in the guise of Mercury symbolizing the parents' hopes for his future, but transferred the character and values of the deity to the person commemorated. Such representations of mortals in divine guises epitomized the character of a still living person or even depicted specific events in the life of the one portrayed. When a reclining couple of the late Severan period, found in a bath complex in Baccucco, are represented as river gods, we might wonder whether this was because they had paid for the water supply (fig. 86)¹⁶³ A portrait statue of an Antonine woman in the guise of Isis found in the temple of Isis in Cyrene also suggests a relationship between the activities of the person portrayed and the divine guise of the portrait statue (see fig. 34).¹⁶⁴ In addition, it should be remembered that the body type favoured for Roman female portraits was one which reflected the iconography of Greek goddesses, in particular Demeter/Ceres and the two so-called Herculaneum Women (the interpretation of which

is still disputed, however, see p. 337). There is therefore a contrast between the more unusual iconographic themes which were probably commissioned to represent very specific aspects of the patron's character either in death or while they were still alive; and the themes which were more commonly employed, and which expressed much more general aspects of a patron. The original associations of the so-called Herculanean Women for instance may have been lost as early as the Hellenistic period; the statues may have become the female equivalent of the himation-clad citizen male.¹⁶⁵ In earlier periods, divine iconography and in particular heroic male nudity, was used for honorific representations of Hellenistic rulers and Republican politicians and military leaders. During the Early Empire the emperor and empress assumed a variety of divine guises, including nudity (for men only though) and these gradually percolated into the private sphere during the second half of the first century A.D. The appearance of private citizens in divine guises seems therefore to have had less to do with a particular fascination with the afterlife or with the fact that tomb décor was more focussed on the inside of the tomb, with the images restricted to the family's viewing. Rather, the modes of representation of the imperial family gradually became more influential. The latter explanation is further supported by the number of portraits of private citizens in divine guises found outside the funerary context. There is however no evidence that statues of the Roman empress or those of private women were displayed in public in the nude; these representations may have been considered inappropriate for a forum display. In addition, the Romans' attitude towards nudity in statuary, which was mostly employed in representations of men, was quite different from that towards real nudity.¹⁶⁶ This is evident from a remark made by Livia, who is supposed to have said of naked men: "To chaste women such men are no different from statues".¹⁶⁷ Male nudity may also point towards the profession of the dead. It would make sense, for instance, if a dead man depicted in the nude had been an athlete.

It was not just the iconography employed in statues of the public elite and in particular the imperial family which had an influence on the private sphere, but also the actual formats.¹⁶⁸ For example, the *clipeus* format was originally associated with old fashioned public honours, as is the case of the *clipeatae* hung on the facade of the Basilica Aemilia in Rome and much later in Trajan's Forum. It was also employed to represent officials in Italic municipia, as we see for instance with the large mid-first century A.D. *clipeatae* which probably came from the forum of Cumae (see fig. 39).¹⁶⁹ Eventually this format, typical for representation in the public sphere, influenced statuary in the semi-public sphere of a corporate structure at Misenum. A similar process can be observed

in funerary art. Already from the late first century B.C. the *clipeus* with all its variations had found its way into Italic funerary iconography. An early first-century A.D. tomb monument for the cattle merchant (*mercator bovarius*) and freedman C. Valerius Faustus in Veii consists of a wide relief with portrait busts of Valerius himself, his wife Hilara and possibly two of Valerius' own freedmen, each in a *clipeus*.¹⁷⁰ The stele with portrait *clipeus* seems to have become particularly popular likewise among freedmen in North Italian cities right from the early first century A.D. But isolated examples are known from other parts of Italy and the northern parts of the Empire.¹⁷¹ In Rome the *clipeus* was used on a variety of funerary monuments such as on altars, reliefs, ash chests, and sarcophagi. An early second-century A.D. altar from Rome shows a woman who had commissioned a portrait, watching the sculptor working on a *clipeus* portrait of herself or one of her kinswomen. And in the so-called Testamentum relief, a seated matron and a reclining male figure on a funerary bed are watched by a portrait of a man in *clipeus* hanging on the wall (perhaps an ancestor?).¹⁷² From the late second century A.D. onwards, the *clipeus* also became very common on sarcophagi.

A series of inscriptions of a *collegium* in Ostia describe an unusual format employed for the depictions of Antonine emperors. It consisted of a silver portrait set in a *clipeus* and carried by an Atlante figure in bronze (*imago ex argenteo cum clipeo et Atlante aereo*). This was no doubt used in the imperial cult.¹⁷³ One may get a good impression of how these images would have looked like from the (admittedly marble) figure of an Atlas with the zodiac in the Villa Albani.¹⁷⁴ In addition, Victoria carrying a *clipeus* and balancing on a celestial sphere which symbolizes the emperor's universal power is a motif familiar from Roman imperial iconography.¹⁷⁵ This type of representation is reflected in a tomb painting from second century Palmyra (plate 12). In the so-called Tomb of the Three Brothers, probably painted between A.D. 160 and 191, nine portrait *clipeatae* carried by large Victoria figures balancing on celestial spheres decorate the walls.¹⁷⁶ The workshop of a portrait painter depicted on the inside of a sarcophagus from Pantikapeion on the Crimea, probably from the early second century A.D., shows a selection of different styles of tondi representations from which costumers could choose. The tondi displayed on the wall reflect the Roman *clipeatae* (see plate 19a). In the private sphere patrons with sufficient means (and those who tended towards the imaginative) could choose from a very wide spectrum of representations free from the constraints of social class. Formats typical for representation in the public sphere were placed in a new context and assumed new meanings; but the associations which these formats and styles had in public life continued to resonate in the image of the deceased.

Fig. 87

Detail of kline monument of C. Julius holding the bust of Julia Attica.
Trajanic. Marble.
Length: 1.55 m. Rome,
Museo Nazionale
Romano, Terme di
Diocleziano.



The kline monument appeared in the second half of the first century A.D. in Rome. Its popularity continued into the third century but its function was transformed as it was used as a cover on sarcophagi. Cut in marble, it shows the deceased in full figure reclining on a couch, probably the funerary couch on which the body was carried from the house to the pyre. The deceased, sometimes holding a drinking cup, seems very alive, as if participating in the funeral meal or one of the meals that regularly took place at tombs.¹⁷⁷ A tomb epigram from Rome picks up on this:

Yes, I'm the one you see reclining here, just as I used to once at dinner, for all the years of life which Fate granted me. And I was never short of wine. Flavia Primitiva, my darling wife passed away before me. Chaste worshipper of Isis attentive to my needs; and graced with every beauty. Thirty happy years we lived together. As a consolation, she left me the fruit of her body, Aurelius Primitivus, to tend my tomb with dutiful affection. Friends, who read this, listen to my advice: mix wine, tie the garlands around your head, drink deep. And do not deny pretty girls the sweets of love. When death comes, earth and fire consume everything.¹⁷⁸

A similar situation appears to be depicted on a kline from Rome (fig. 87) which shows a reclining male figure, identified by an inscription as C. Julius, putting his arm around the bust of a woman named Julia Attica, his wife (?). She may have been long gone. On a kline now in London it is the reclining female figure who puts her arm around the bust of her husband.¹⁷⁹ This gesture not only demonstrates the devotion of the couple beyond death but also shows the importance of the role of the funerary portrait in expressing grief, loss, and in maintaining the memory of the deceased. In the kline of C. Julius and Julia Attica, the in-



Fig. 88
Kline monument of a reclining woman on a luxuriously furnished kline. Late first century A.D. Marble. Length: 1.7 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.

scription (on the now lost urn but see *CIL VI* 20383) further informs us that she was a freedwoman of C. Julius. It is possible that she later became his wife and in that case it is C. Julius whom we also see depicted on the kline. Evidence of luxurious living may often be observed in these monuments. A kline from the late first century A.D. shows a female figure (now headless) in expensive clothes propped up by a large soft cushion trimmed with a rich, heavy fringe. She is draped in a tunica of crispy thin fabric, which falls like a decorative fan around her angles and her mantle is kept manageable by small tassels at its corners and visible on the madras (fig. 88).¹⁸⁰ One can imagine how the addition of colour and perhaps gilding would have added an even more luxurious touch to the decorative elements. The small boy carrying fruit behind her symbolizes her fertility. Such reclining figures are found on sarcophagi lids in different parts of the Empire. In second century Palmyra they signified the splendour enjoyed by owners of corporate tombs or by the head of the family. Displayed in a central niche they were surrounded by the ordinary half figure stelae which were typically used as *loculi* covers. Half and full figure stelae sculpted in relief or painted are found all over the Empire but have specific local characteristics in different regions.¹⁸¹ These were used either as *loculi* covers or freestanding tomb markers.

Another type of funerary monument, which came to prominence among the freedmen of Rome and among the middle class in general in Italian cities during the first and second centuries A.D., was the funerary altar. It originally functioned as a place at which to perform sacrifices but with the addition of an inscription and visual representations in commemoration of the dead it became a suitable tomb marker, which

Fig. 89

Ash chest commemorating Flavia Helpis who lived to be thirteen years, seven months and sixteen days old. Two long locks falling on either side of her shoulder allude to Venus. Late first century A.D. Marble. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.



would recall the rituals and offerings that took place at the tomb on the day of the burial and continuously thereafter. As it was often displayed within burial chambers or within high enclosing walls, the relief, usually depicting a bust of the deceased, could be studied and contemplated in detail.¹⁸² An urn was sometimes embedded in the base of the altar. It may have been a simple terracotta urn but occasionally it took the form of a small and sculpted marble ash chest (fig. 89). Such ash chests were also used as tomb markers in their own right but in that case they were displayed in niches in *columbaria*. The ash chest was a standard funerary monument for people with only limited financial means during the first and early second centuries A.D. The figural decoration consisted of garlands and floral ornaments mixed with Dionysiac iconography and other mythological motifs. The person who had died often appears as a miniature representation, as a bust placed in either a shell, a wreath or a *clipeus*, and there is little or no attempt to replicate the physiognomy of the individual. This indicates that only very few of the ash chests were special commissions. It also shows that the portrait image even when this was of a generic type was considered the best means of perpetuating the memory of the deceased. The framing accessories in this humble type of tomb marker alluded to honour and a pleasant afterlife.¹⁸³

During the second century A.D. following a shift in burial practices from cremation to inhumation, people with substantial financial resources preferred the large sculpted sarcophagus for disposal of the



corpse. For most sarcophagi the context of their original location is uncertain but in Rome and the Italian necropoleis they were, it seems, primarily displayed within tombs or enclosures and only intended to be seen by the family.¹⁸⁴ It has been suggested that a specific social group, the Roman senators, preferred specific narratives.¹⁸⁵ One of these narratives is represented in the so-called Marshalls' sarcophagi of the late second century A.D. (fig. 90). These show the figure of the deceased acting in different scenes which some scholars consider to symbolize cardinal imperial and senatorial virtues, including *virtus*, *clementia*, *pietas* and *concordia*. However, it has been convincingly argued by Susanne Muth that the three main scenes of handshaking, sacrifice and battle depicted on these sarcophagi do not represent these above-mentioned four cardinal virtues – the fact that there are only three scenes undeniably supports this – but instead show three crucial aspects of the life of the deceased – his relation to family, the gods and to his community. Nevertheless, the scholarly consensus remains that these sarcophagi were used only or primarily by the senatorial class.¹⁸⁶ Without further documentation such as inscriptions supporting this social attribution, the identification of the sarcophagi as commemorating senators must remain dubious.

Sarcophagi with mythological scenes functioned as *exempla*. They would inspire the viewer to compare the person commemorated with the gods and heroes depicted on the sarcophagus. Most of the scenes can be interpreted in the context of mourning and praise of the dead.¹⁸⁷ Mythological sarcophagi were quickly furnished with portraiture. The carving of portrait heads into the dramatic mythological scenery of Achilleus and Penthesilea for example, served to associate the mythic with the personal and to memorialise the bond between the married couple (figs. 91–92).¹⁸⁸ Portraiture however remained a secondary ele-

Fig. 90
So-called Marshalls' sarcophagus showing the same person in different ideal situations in life. Late second century A.D. Marble. Mantova, Palazzo Ducale.

Fig. 91
Detail of the portrait figures of the relief fig. 92. The hairstyle of the woman dates the sarcophagus to the middle of the third century A.D.



ment in the narratives of mythological sarcophagi. This was probably to some extent due to practical factors, because sarcophagi were made in relatively few and specialized centres located around the Empire such as in Docimion and Ephesus in Asia Minor, in Athens, and in Rome. Some (though certainly not all) sarcophagi were therefore exported in an unfinished state, lacking the carving of the facial features in the portrait image and perhaps lacking a detailed surface treatment. The actual likeness on a frieze sarcophagus probably acted as a reminder of the deceased's appearance and character; this could then be compared to the character of the figure in the myth. The narrative in its entirety would evoke feelings of comfort, and would also remind the viewer of the specific cultural affiliations and status of the deceased, and not least stimulate the imagination of the viewer. Only in the occasional deployment of the sculpted lid with reclining figures does portraiture play a more dominant role; in this case the two parts of the sarcophagus each tell their different story.

Contemporaneous with the frieze sarcophagi, other patrons preferred sarcophagus types where portraiture continued to play a prime role. On the more simply decorated sarcophagi the centre may be occupied with a portrait of the deceased set in a shell or *clipeus*. Again here, the former evoke the desire for a happy afterlife, while the latter are representative of old aristocratic virtues. Set within decorative garlands the portrait may have reminded the viewer of the feasts celebrated at the tomb, at which flowers featured in abundance. In the third century A.D., a period dur-



Fig. 92
Sarcophagus depicting a battle between Greeks and Amazons with central scene of Achilles and Penthesilea equipped with portrait heads.
Marble. Vatican Museums, Cortile Ottagono.

ing which the mythological and frieze sarcophagi decline substantially in number, scenes of both the public and the private life of the dead dominate. The emphasis is again on the individual – the magistrate on his chair but also the women are shown accompanied by muses; the latter fact implies that they can take on intellectual roles equal to those of men. In the hand-shaking, *dextrarum junctio*, between man and wife, the focus is on the unity of the couple and their mutual roles. This shift in narratives and in gender roles reflects a renewed concern for the status of the magistrate in his *toga contabulata* but also for the educational and intellectual role of women in the family. But even on these mid- to late-third century A.D. sarcophagi where portraiture plays a prime role, the heads are sometimes left unfinished. While this was no doubt partly due to the practicalities surrounding the production of sarcophagi discussed above it may also have been seen in the light of a gradual decline in interest in expressing individuality and an increasing emphasis on spirituality and collective values.¹⁸⁹

The fact that the tomb is by far the most frequently recorded find spot for sculpted portraits has already been discussed. Although descriptions of the exact find spot is most often lacking, there is still enough evidence to suggest that portraits were displayed both inside and outside tombs. In the burial chamber statues were typically placed in a niche or when in the bust form either in a niche, or on a shelf. When displayed in the open air portrait statues or stelai might function on their own as tomb markers or as part of the architectural decoration of the exterior of the tomb, for example in a niche or temple-like superstructure.¹⁹⁰ In their diverse permutations tomb portraits reflected the changing fash-

ions of the public self-representation of the imperial and senatorial aristocracy. Freedmen in Rome were depicted in divine guises and local people copied the representation and symbolic language of the Roman emperor. In Pompeii, for instance, Roman men were often depicted on tomb facades not just in the toga but also in military costume with cuirass and *paludamentum* (commander's cloak); alternatively they may be represented in heroic nudity.¹⁹¹ Both of these modes of representation mirrored and drew on public representation of military leaders, high aristocrats, and of course of the emperor.¹⁹² Women in Pompeii were pictured in the funerary context in statuary habits that reflected Greek iconography, again a style which drew on public representations of famous women. However, the popularity of the so-called Pudicitia type in tomb contexts, not just in Pompeii but across the Empire, may be interpreted as an indication that this was considered an appropriate image through which a mourning husband or father could express his feelings towards a deceased wife or daughter.¹⁹³ This statue type showed the woman completely wrapped in the chiton and palla, the latter being pulled over the back of the head, while she rests her bowed head on the hand of her right arm. The statue sometimes had a seated pose and perhaps alluded to a priesthood which she might have held.¹⁹⁴ From Rome and Ostia portraits from tombs may be of the highest quality,¹⁹⁵ but in the less prominent towns in Italy and throughout the Empire the portraits which were displayed both inside and outside the tombs were often of local manufacture. These are less pretentious than what we encounter in public statuary in the same towns. From Cyrene a large number of portrait busts derive from a funerary context but they are almost all of a very local manufacture and when compared to the statues found in sanctuaries and public squares around the cities of the Cyrenaica they seem rather plain. We may recall here Sextus Julius Aquilia's careful instructions in his will for his tomb and tomb statue. His motives for setting these out in detail were probably to prevent survivors from compromising with the expenses for his tomb. As we have seen, the architectural setting and the sculptural display surrounding the tomb portrait would bestow further symbolic connotations on the image of the dead. Busts of philosophers would lend the dead associations of erudition;¹⁹⁶ a bust of the emperor would add a suggestion of political importance.¹⁹⁷

Only a few habits seem to refer directly to a funerary ritual or to the fact that the person portrayed was deceased¹⁹⁸. References to the afterlife were however ubiquitous. There is no evidence of cultic worship of portraits in tombs but the portrait was adorned with flowers as a feature of the rituals that took place on a regular basis, in particular during the *parentalia*, the official days of the 3rd to the 7th March

when the Romans remembered their dead ones. The function of the portrait was to keep the memory of the deceased alive. In it survivors found consolation, and thus it had a function similar to that of the *laudatio*:

As you might instruct a sculptor or painter who was making an image of your son what he ought to emphasize and what he should correct, thus also please guide and correct me as I attempt to form an image not fragile and perishable but immortal. For this will better withstand the test of daily life, the more truly, the better, the more authoritatively it has been rendered.

Pliny the Younger wrote to the parents of Cottius for whom he was writing the *laudatio*.¹⁹⁹ A portrait secured the survival of the dead in the world of the living.²⁰⁰ The achievements and status of the dead were an important aspect of this memory; the visual context of the portrait expressed the deceased or survivors' very personal choice of elements to emphasise in this (self-) perpetuation. Tomb epigrams mention how survivors set up portraits of the deceased at the tomb to bring comfort: "To comfort us I have set up a portrait, which we honour and adorn with garlands."²⁰¹ In another epigram notion of providing comfort and sustaining the memory of the dead are again stressed:

Here lies Varius Frontonianus, whom his charming wife, Cornelia Galla, has placed here. To revive the sweet solaces of their old life she added his marble image (marmoreos voltus), so that for a long time she would be able to satisfy her eyes and her mind with his dear form. This sight will be her comfort ...²⁰²

That the tomb image evoked more than memory and comfort alone has been discussed above and is perhaps best epitomized in a second century A.D. inscription from Spain. This inscription tells us about an otherwise unknown woman Postimia Aciliana Boxo, who left 8,000 sesterces to be spent on jewellery for her tomb statue.²⁰³ When adorned with this expensive jewellery she could be certain that her statue would stand out from those decorated with garlands of flowers.

Part Two: Modes of Representation





Plate 13

Marble copy of the statue of Augustus found at Prima Porta. The applied colour is based on remains on the original. It shows how colour could enhance the vividness of the drapery.

Plate 14a
Miniature head of Augustus in turquoise coloured glass. Height: 0.05 m.
Cologne, Römisches-germanisches Museum.



Plate 14b
Portrait of a woman in greyvache identified as Agrippina Minor.
Height: 0.3 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.





Plate 15

Tomb statue of a young boy on a rearing horse. Alabaster with extremities of head, arms and legs of the boy in white marble. Found in a tomb by Acilia outside Rome. Second quarter of the third century A.D. Height (without plinth): 1.36 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.



Plate 16

Portrait in silver of Lucius Verus from the silver treasure discovered by Piemont in Northern Italy. Height: 0.53 m; weight: 2.85 kg. Torino, Museo di Antichità.



Plate 17
Funerary relief in limestone with well-preserved paint. Second to early third century A.D. From Palmyra. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Plate 18b

Linen shroud with painted decoration showing the deceased man clad in a Greek himation being presented to the mummified god Osiris by Anubis. Linen with painted decoration. 1.8 x 1.28 m. Paris, Louvre.



Plate 18a

Mummy case with its original portrait depicting an adult man. Found at Hawara in the Fayum, Egypt. Mid-first century A.D. Encaustic colour on linen. Length: 1.7 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Plate 19a
Painted decoration on
the interior of a sarco-
phagus found in Pantica-
peion on the Crimea. It
shows a portrait painter
in his workshop. Second
century A.D. Sct. Peters-
borg, Ermitage Museum.



Plate 19b
Laser copy of a portrait of Caligula in
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv.
I.N. 2687 executed in marble by The Conser-
vation Department, Liverpool Museum.
The applied colour is based on minimal
fragments of paint preserved on the origi-
nal and is therefore to a wide extent hypo-
thetical.



Plate 20a.

Cameo with portraits of the Severan imperial family. Red jasper.
Height: 12 mm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

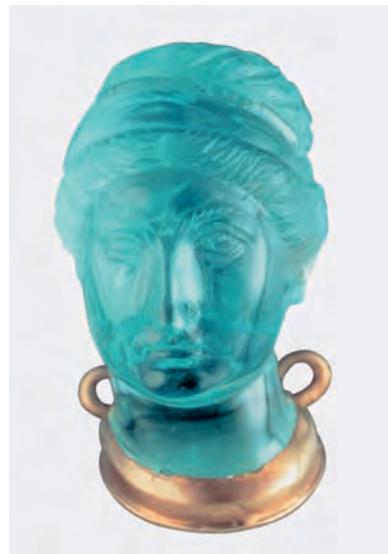


Plate 20b

Miniture head of a Roman woman in
aquamarine. Hadrianic period. Height:
2.6 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico
Nazionale.



Plate 20c

Cameo in layered multicolour sardonyx depicting the apotheosis
of Claudius who is being carried to heaven by an eagle. Height:
0.1 m. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Plate 20d

Portrait of the musician Gennadios
wearing himation with naked breast.
Late second century A.D. Gold glass,
now in the shape of a disk but perhaps
originally from the base of a bowl.
Diameter: 0.02 m. New York, Metro-
politan Museum of Art.

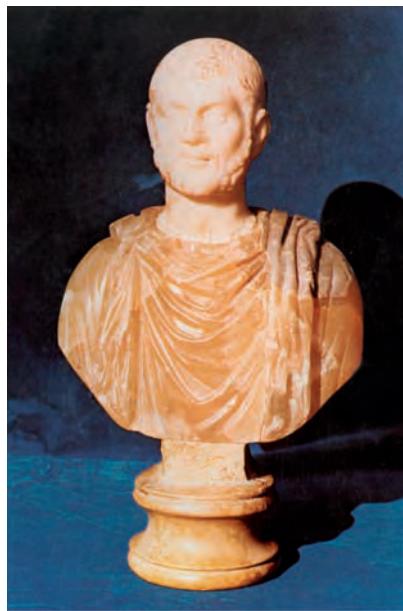


Plate 21a

Bust in miniature found in Apartment II in the so-called Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos. The head is of white marble while the bust is in onyx. Height: 0.2 m. Selçuk Museum.



Plate 21b

Under life-size bust of a man in pavonazzetto marble. The use of the block was carefully planned. The head is almost white while the bust is colourful with the purple veins of the stone forming an intriguing pattern. Height: 0.37 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.



Plate 21c

Under life-size bust of a woman of the Antonine period in alabaster. Height: 0.33 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Plate 21d

Upper part of a statue of a tonsured priest identified as Antinous. It was probably originally placed on drapery in white marble. Found in Hadrian's villa by Tivoli. Rosso antico. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori.



Plate 22

Colossal statue of an emperor in red porphyry seated on a throne in grey granite. The missing head, hands and feet of the figure may have been in a different material. Second to third century A.D. Height (reconstructed): ca. 3.2 m. Found at Caesarea Crociata (Israel). Caesarea National Park.



Plate 23

Over life-size statue of a woman as Aura perhaps depicting the empress Matidia. Found in the theatre of Sessa Aurunca, Italy. The body is in bigio morato while the nude body parts including the head (which may not belong?) were in white marble. Height: 2.6 m. Sessa Aurunca, Castello Ducale.



Plate 24

Hair pin in ivory carved with a female portrait. Neronian. Found in Pompeii. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

The Material of Roman Portraits



Bearing in mind the basic aspects of public honour and private commemoration outlined above focus is now on modes of representation. Materiality, technique and the choice of material as giving meaning to portraits are often overlooked. Material enhanced the aesthetic appeal of a portrait and it carried cultural, contextual, social and economic properties that changed with time.

Some materials, such as Egyptian red porphyry and black basalt, were restricted in use to the imperial house, while other materials were so rare and expensive that only a few rich patrons could afford them. It is clear from a passage in Pausanias' description of the Olympieion in Athens, that the ancient viewer would pay attention to the material from which a portrait statue was made: "before the entrance I say, stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian".¹ The choice of material was also subject to function and use. Painted portraits and portraits in wood, silver or bronze were relatively easy to move around and they could be carried along in processions.² When the emperor's image was borne in cultic procession for example, a small local community would have to hire labourers to carry it. A wooden, bronze or silver statue or statuette was obviously easier to handle than a marble one.³ An inscription from Ephesus on the southern *analemma* wall of the theatre records how the equester C. Vibius Salutaris paid for a number of gold, gilded and silver statuettes of deities and personifications as well as silver statuettes of the ruling emperor Trajan and his wife Plotina to be carried in procession from the deposit in the Artemision to the theatre. In the theatre they were placed on marble bases made especially for them, whenever the council met.⁴ A funerary relief in Chieti shows how statues of deities were borne on *fercula* in processions and statues of the emperor must have been carried in the same way.⁵ Stone statuary was only suitable for permanent display.

The wide range of materials used for portraiture is epitomized in one of Pliny the Younger's Letters to Catius Lepidus. The letter describes how a mourning father tried to find comfort after the premature death of his son Regulus:

He chose lately to mourn for his son; accordingly he mourns as nobody ever mourned before. He took it into his head that he would have statues and busts of him by the dozen; immediately all the artisans in Rome are set to work. In colours, wax, bronze, silver, gold, ivory, marble, the young Regulus is depicted again and again.⁶

The materials mentioned in this letter form a good point of departure for a discussion of the materials used in private and imperial portraiture.

Painting

From material remains we receive few glimpses of the importance of painting as a portrait medium. Most of the evidence derives from mural painting, whereas portraits painted on wooden panels or linen have disappeared almost entirely, except in Egypt where preservation conditions have been exceptionally good. However, portraits painted on wooden panels were a mode of representation that was probably as significant as marble or bronze. An abundance of evidence, both inscriptional and literary, demonstrates that paintings were a significant portrait medium in all parts of the Empire, including Rome. Dio, for example, first mentions painted portraits when he explains that in A.D. 45 Claudius found the public spaces in Rome so overcrowded with portraits that he had them moved somewhere else.⁷ Epigraphical evidence also reveals that painted portraits in general, some as *clypeatae* or panels were commonly awarded to deserving citizens. In an inscription from Sardis in Asia Minor, which dates from the Augustan period, a certain Menogenes is honoured with a statue in bronze, one in marble and six portraits painted on gilded shields. Also in Sardis, in the first century B.C., a certain Iollas is honoured with a number of statues in different materials as well as four painted images.⁸ The so-called Berlin tondo of the Severan imperial family (see plate 39a), Pliny the Elder's reference to a colossal painted portrait of Nero (destroyed by lightning)⁹ and the funerary inscription of a certain Aurelius Felicianus who is described as a painter of emperors as well as of men of good repute *homines nobiles*, show that painting was a medium employed to represent imperial persons. Commissions may have been intended for public display. Alternatively, small, unpretentious works may have been commissioned for domestic use, like the Berlin tondo which was probably found in a private house. Mere scribbles such as those mentioned by Marcus Cornelius Fronto were also to be seen in "entrance halls, windows, in shops, everywhere".¹⁰

Painting certainly seems to have been a major medium for portraits during the whole Roman period but the material evidence suggests con-

centrations in certain chronological periods as well as significant differences in its use between regions. Grand-scale paintings from different parts of the Empire depicting scenes that featured historical personalities or mythological and religious figures, may have been used as cheaper ‘substitutes’ for marble friezes.¹¹ Examples of such paintings may be found in the peristyle court of a Severan house in Chartres, or in the synagogue and the temple of Bel at Dura Europos in Syria, dating before A.D. 256.¹² From Syria there are many other portrait paintings preserved in houses and tombs, suggesting a strong local preference for painting. Likewise chronological variations may obtain. Until the quarries at Luni were excessively exploited during the second half of the first century B.C.,¹³ painting (and bronze) must have played a more significant role as a portrait medium than marble. Painting must also be considered as an alternative medium during the third and fourth centuries A.D. when the number of honorific statues and portraits declined, as did monumental art more generally.¹⁴ Monumental art may have been replaced by spectacular painted tableaux not unlike those included in Scipio Africanus’ triumph in 201 B.C. for example,¹⁵ or the modern phenomenon of a ‘tableau vivant’ – the decoration of public streets and squares of European cities with depictions of historical events during periods of crisis or sudden and unexpected events.¹⁶ According to Herodian, Septimius Severus sent paintings to Rome illustrating his Persian wars. Descriptions of the paintings sent to Rome by Maximinus Trax recall the historical reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Whether the paintings depicting Severus’ Persian wars were used as sources for the reliefs on his arch in the Forum Romanum remains an open question.¹⁷ However, by the mid-Severan period grand historical marble monuments were no longer commissioned. Likewise, there is a clear decrease in the production of marble portraits during the third century A.D. Only half as many emperor portraits are preserved from ca. 230 to 333 as are extant from the period A.D. 100 to 200. It may be significant that Philostratus Lemnius (born c. A.D. 191) in the introduction to his *Eikones* claims that by exploiting colours, painting can achieve more than the three-dimensional medium of sculpture.¹⁸ Significantly, there is extensive evidence for the use of painted portraits during the fourth century A.D.¹⁹

When describing marble and bronze Pliny the Elder mentions numerous famous sculptors of the Greek past but he is almost entirely silent about those of his own time.²⁰ When talking about painting, however, he mentions by name several famous portrait painters who are more or less his contemporaries. Of an Augustan painter called Arellius, Pliny says that he would have been very famous if he was not “... always paying court to any woman he happened to fall in love with, and consequent-

ly painting goddesses, but in the likeness of his mistresses; and so his pictures included a number of harlots". A certain Iaia, a contemporary of Varro (119–26 BC), worked in Rome as a specialist in painting portraits of women and she also made a self-portrait by using a mirror. We hear of "...the most celebrated portrait painters of the same period, Sopolis and Dionysius, whose pictures fill the galleries."²¹ Portrait sculptors rarely signed their work²² and one may wonder whether painters and their artworks were more esteemed than sculptors. Just like cameos, for which the names of several carvers are known, painted portraits were not for 'everybody' to see, as they had to be displayed in a sheltered location protected from the elements, whereas sculpted portraits were independent of weather conditions and could be displayed anywhere.

By far the best evidence for portrait painting, reminding us of what may have been lost, comes from Egypt: the so-called mummy portraits, heads or busts painted either on linen or wooden panels and cartonage busts inserted into mummy cases (plate 18a). Favoured by a Hellenized upper class and portraying the patrons with metropolitan Roman fashion hairstyles, the portrait panels, when provenanced, are almost exclusively found inserted into the Egyptian mummy cases in necropoleis in the Fayum and other areas of the Nile valley. One of these panels, reported to have been found in a tomb in Hawara, has a wooden frame and the rope used in hanging it has also been preserved. The discovery of this panel and of a tomb in Er-Rubayat in which portrait panels were displayed on the walls, have contributed to speculation about the original function of these portraits.²³ One theory is that the panels were painted and displayed while the subject was alive and later, upon the death of the subject, cut for insertion into the mummy case. But Barbara Borg has proposed a series of convincing arguments against this theory. The most obvious explanation for the function of the mummy portraits is that they were purposely made for a mummy.²⁴ A number of the mummy portrait panels have, however, been cut very roughly into shape to fit into the mummy. It is not unlikely that they were commissioned as larger panels including part of the body, and carried in the funeral procession of the dead before they were cut to fit into the mummy.²⁵ Two wooden tondi panels, the so-called Tondo of the Two Brothers, showing two youths in half-figure with deities alluding to death at their shoulders, and a tondo depicting a couple as Mars and Venus also come from tomb contexts. However, one wooden portrait tondo panel, the only preserved painting representing imperial persons, the Severan family, is said to have been found in a private house, and therefore attests to the use of painted panels also outside the funerary context.²⁶ A list of temple offerings by women submitted by the priests of several temples

at Oxyrhynchos in A.D. 213-217 mentions painted images of Caracalla, his mother Julia Domna, and his deified father Septimius Severus, from the temple of Neotera.²⁷ This list is probably representative of the type of offerings found in small temples not just in Egypt but across the Empire.

Outside Egypt, the evidence comes primarily from mural paintings in tombs and houses. Representations include tondi, busts, half- and full-figures.²⁸ The painted portraits often imitate portraits in other more precious materials such as silver and bronze. Pliny the Elder complained that painted portraits which showed accurate likenesses had gone out of fashion and been replaced by bronze shields with silver faces in the Roman atrium.²⁹ In Casa dell'Impluvio in Pompeii, for example, images that seem to imitate painted metal shields are painted at oblique angles high up on a wall in a kind of 'plate rack' consisting of two wooden beams.³⁰ Whether these are portraits or whether they are meant to recall the kind of bronze shield images that Pliny disliked remains uncertain.³¹ However, the main burial chamber in the so-called 'Tomb of the three brothers' in Palmyra probably decorated between A.D. 160 and 191, boasts nine painted shield-shaped tondi portraits, which mimic honorific metal shields (see plate 12). Each tondo is decorated with a male or female bust, or in one case the bust of a woman and child.³² The tondi each have an ornamented yellow-painted frame which may have been meant to imitate gilding; and each is carried by a Victoria. Although the paintings have faded heavily, old photos leave little doubt that the busts in the tondi are portraits because the women wear fashion hairstyles and jewellery characteristic of Palmyran sculpted funerary busts. It is possible that the tondi imitate the *clipeatae imagines*, which were associated with old-fashioned public honours in Rome. The Victoria figure carrying a shield portrait is evocative of representations of the Roman emperor.³³ We have already seen how the *clipeus* format influenced the funerary art of freedmen in Italian cities from the late first century B.C. on. A stone sarcophagus found in Panticepeion near Kerch on the Crimea probably dating from the early second century A.D. shows on the inside a painted central scene with a portrait painter (plate 19a). He is depicted seated with a paintbrush or perhaps more likely a metal tool³⁴ in his hand and working on a panel with a check board pattern (copying lines?). An easel next to him displays a blank panel with a wooden frame and a robe for hanging. While the blank panel is waiting for a commission, the commissioned works that had already been finished – a square painted panel in a wooden frame and two shield-shaped paintings each with a portrait image – hang on the wall. The differently framed portraits possibly illustrate the choice that was available when a funerary portrait was commissioned in this remote part of the Roman world.³⁵

In murals, in Pompeii, for example, portrait tondi of a more simple form without the typical shield-shaped frame seem to be suspended with ribbons on the wall.³⁶ The back wall of the Tomba della Via Portuense in Rome is painted with a portrait in a tondo that rests on a profiled support, thus imitating either a wooden or metal tondo disc.³⁷

Full-length statues were also represented in painting. The first century A.D. tomb of C. Voconius Proculus in Merida in Spain has a rich painted decoration and shows Voconius Proculus himself in toga as a full-figure statue mounted on a base. Another painting shows his parents Gaius Volconius and Caecilia Anus both clad in tunica and mantle mounted on a shared wide base in a representation indicative of bronze or marble.³⁸ It is probable that the painted representations deliberately imitated or evoked the grandeur of publicly displayed images. Alternatively (though this is less likely), the painting may have copied a statue of the same individual set up in public, of which its patron or heirs were proud. The same phenomenon can also be observed in stucco applied to walls of tombs and in marble reliefs.³⁹ In contrast, other representations, for example those on the linen shrouds, portray the figure in a more naturalistic manner – in a standing or walking pose without a statue base (plate 18b).⁴⁰

The painted panels, the literary evidence as well as the full-figure portrait representations found on linen shrouds from Roman Egypt, suggest the importance of grand-scale painting as a portrait medium. Not least, they are suggestive of what might have been lost.⁴¹

Bronze and white marble

These two very different materials are treated together here because they were the most important, most common, and most competitive materials used for both the honorific statue and portrait displayed in a private context. In the current context, any white stone, marble or (technically more correct) limestone, which takes a polish is understood as marble.⁴² Marble is by far the dominant surviving material for portraits. However, although it was quarried around most of the Mediterranean, the high quality marble which was desired for statuary was only supplied by a relatively limited number of quarries in Italy, Greece and Asia Minor.⁴³ The demand for marble for the public building programmes in Rome and provincial towns throughout the Empire increased enormously during the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. and this is probably the main reason why most of the large quarries came under imperial control during the first half of the first century A.D. The control and efficient organization of the quarries not only secured the

supply of marble but it was also profitable for the imperial administration. In several quarries crucial evidence for the quarry's administration has been found and much recent work has been done on the marble trade.⁴⁴ There is substantial evidence for the import, storage and carving of marble in Rome. With the exploitation of the quarries in Luni at the end of the Republican period it can be assumed that marble gradually came to play a more significant role as a portrait material than painting, bronze and limestone in Rome and Italy.⁴⁵ The extent to which this was the case is very difficult to assess however because bronze was liable to be recycled⁴⁶ and paintings rarely survive. But it may be indirectly read in the relatively large number of portraits being pieced together from several separate pieces of marble during the Republic and the Early Empire (figs. 93–95).⁴⁷ Piecing of course also occurs in later periods particularly in areas outside the mainstream of the marble trade, but also in Rome itself. Colossal statues were often made as acroliths with only the extremities of head, hands and feet being in marble.⁴⁸ And piecing is not the only indication that marble was a precious material in the early periods. Inscriptions commemorating Hellenistic kings explicitly mention that the statues with cultic overtones representing kings were of marble.⁴⁹ Passages in Pliny the Elder also indicate that marble was considered a more exclusive material, suitable for gods; although bronze had originally figured in statues of the gods and characters from the heroic world, marble was now used, especially for honorific statues.⁵⁰ The inscription mentioning the award of nine honorific statues to L. Volusius Saturninus is discussed in the Addendum. For six of the statues no material is mentioned at all. Yet the inscription suggests that those statues to be set up in temples were of marble, perhaps reminiscent of the material from which cult images and images of Hellenistic rulers were made. The image of Saturninus to be set up in the Roman Forum was in bronze.⁵¹ But an indicator that bronze was perhaps the most commonly used material for portraits during the first century A.D. is the proportionally large quantity of bronze portraits in miniature from the Iulio-Claudian period.⁵²

From the second century A.D. onwards there is significant evidence for the dominant use of marble in portraiture. This may be seen not only in the high number of marble portraits preserved in and from Rome and other Italian cities, but also in technical improvements which date from that period. The bust had become an important perhaps even dominant format during the late first and early second centuries A.D. In order to emphasise the face and hair sculptors developed new skills in treating marble which allowed for visual effects that could not be achieved in any other material (figs. 96–97). These efforts culminated in large drilled pupils, extensively drilled hairstyles and highly polished



Fig. 93
Portrait of a woman of the Antonine period showing carefully dressed surfaces for attachment of (now missing) parts of the hairstyle. Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti.

Fig. 94
Profile of portrait Fig. 93.

Fig. 95
The back side of a colossal portrait of Augustus found in the temple of Roma and Augustus in Forum Vetus in Leptis Magna. It is hollowed out to reduce the weight. Tripoli, National Museum.



Fig. 96
Bust of a man of the late second century A.D. with extensive drill work to hair. Marble. Height: 0.63m. Found in a late antique villa at Chiragan. Toulouse, Musée Saint-Raymond.

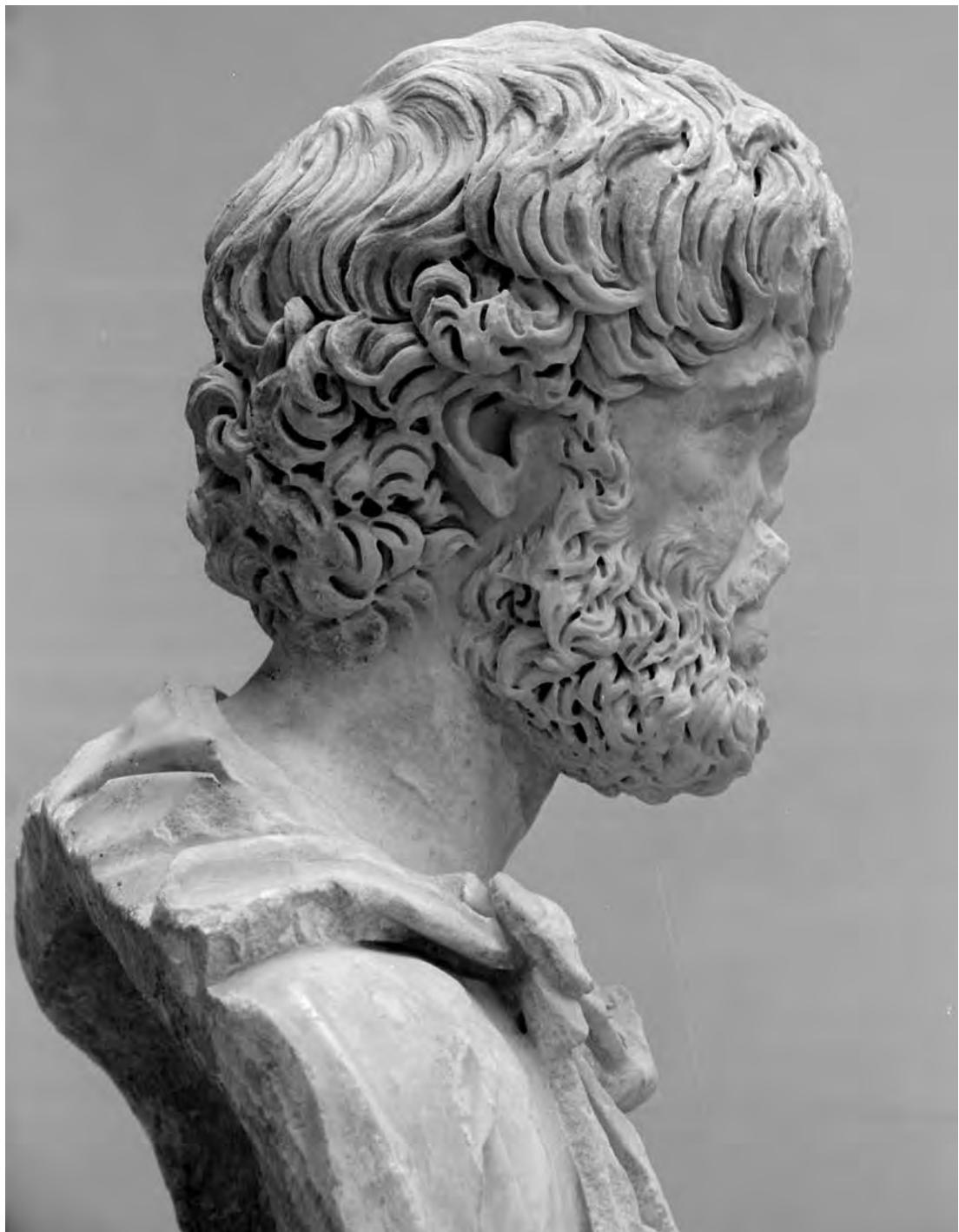


Fig. 97
Profile of portrait shown in Fig. 96.

skin, all of which became characteristic of portraiture of the second century.⁵³

As many second-century marble portraits were cut with busts or mounted on them they may to a large extent therefore have been intended for display inside a building. This raises the question of whether marble was indeed also the most desired material for the honorific statue set up in a public square. Evidence from inscriptions in municipal towns in Italy suggests that bronze or rather gilded bronze⁵⁴ was at the top of the hierarchy for honorific statues also in the second century. Examination of the top of honorific statue bases from the fora of Timgad and Djemila in Africa Consularis has shown that the majority of statues were of bronze.⁵⁵ There does therefore seem to be a discrepancy between the material preferred for honorific statues and portraiture in general. The tomb inscription commemorating Sextus Julius Aquilia in Gaul quoted above, suggests that in second-century A.D. Gaul imported (coloured?) marble ranked above bronze and bronze ranked above Luna marble. It must be stressed, however, that the picture may vary chronologically and geographically. The above-mentioned inscription from Odemisch in Asia Minor specifying the type of white marble to be used for two portraits and the passage in Pausanias concerning statues of Hadrian in Thasian stone suggest that some viewers at least were able to distinguish between white marbles and to appreciate marble of particularly high quality. The Thasian marble had a special appeal because of its striking white colour and shine.

Stone sculptures were in general coloured. Recent research and exhibitions in Munich, Copenhagen and the Vatican have highlighted the use of colour in ancient sculpture. And many marble portraits show the remains of such decoration (plate 19b).⁵⁶ The bust of an Antonine youth, G. Volcarius Myropnous, had traces of gilding in the hair when it was discovered in a tomb on the Isola Sacra by Ostia⁵⁷ and we are told that Lucius Verus powdered his hair with gold dust.⁵⁸ Perhaps gilding was particularly relevant during the second century A.D. era of luxury and "elegantia". Typically paint is preserved on the lips and in the eyes, with eyelids, eyebrows and details of the iris and pupils⁵⁹ being picked out. There is good reason to assume that paint was routinely applied to Roman portraiture. The translucency of marble allowed for experimentation with different 'depths' of colour so that a compact tight colouring (as on students' exercises on plaster casts) could be avoided and the carving and polishing were allowed to shine through the paint.⁶⁰ Paint pigments mixed into wax would make the polished surface of cheeks and forehead even more radiant, and the wax would emphasize the contrast between hair and skin. On the body figures paint highlighted the elements that designated rank, as well as patterns in the material. The

colour of the toga, its border and the stripes on the tunica would emphasize the rank of the person portrayed. On the breastplate of a cuirassed statue, paint could illuminate details referring to historical or mythical events that were relevant to the political life of the subject, as has recently been demonstrated on the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta (plate 13).⁶¹ In women's costumes woven patterns could express foreign influences and sophistication, luxury and wealth or, by their absence, simply modesty. Colours would not only emphasize details of rank and status and create a more life-like (though not necessarily more realistic) image of the subject; they would also enhance the plastic form of the portrait. It must be remembered that these portraits had an active social role.⁶² They were decorated with garlands and crowns, and were cared for, perhaps over generations. Faded wax and paint would have been retouched so that the statues continued to look 'fresh'. Similarly, many bronze statues would have a polychrome appearance with their inlaid eyes and gilding. They too were maintained and, when needed re-gilded, and in Egypt a special tax was imposed to finance the maintenance of imperial statues.⁶³ A painted or gilded surface was probably continuously in need of maintenance.

Travertine, limestone and other local stones

The traditional local building materials of the Roman Republic, travertine, tufa and limestone were also employed for portraits in Rome and in Italic cities during the Republican period.⁶⁴ They seem, however, to have gone out of fashion for portraiture by the end of the Republic when they were replaced by either marble or by the more dense limestone. Limestone of varying quality was quarried throughout the Mediterranean often on or very close to the habitation or cult site itself and it was used extensively for portraiture, particularly in rural sanctuaries and tombs.⁶⁵ Unlike marble and bronze, limestone is not mentioned in inscriptions as a material for honorific statues set up by the public. The silence in the inscriptional evidence, however, may be because it was so prevalent that it was considered 'not worth mentioning'. However, there is evidence that limestone was even used for representing the emperor in areas with no marble resources.⁶⁶ As different limestones have their own specific character, local sculptors developed special skills and styles in carving the stone, or they continued working in a tradition developed generations before. A relief portrait from Syrian Palmyra, for example, cut in the good local limestone, may easily be recognized as deriving from Palmyra even when out of context because of its special carving techniques and styles (plate 17). Many Palmyran portraits have wonderful-

Figs. 98–99
Under life-size statue of
the writer Thymos. The
chair on which he sits
alludes to the Roman
sella curulis. Black volcanic
basalt. Height: 0.9 m.
Damascus,
National Museum.





ly preserved colouring applied directly on the limestone, whereas in other parts of Syria and Egypt, the limestone portraits were first plastered and then painted.⁶⁷ When no usable limestone was available sculpting skills had to be applied to other stones. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods a very specialized practice developed in the Hauran in the Roman province of Arabia. Here local sculptors (and architectural stone cutters) became extraordinarily good at cutting a coarse black volcanic basalt (figs. 98–99).⁶⁸ Three seated late-second to early-third century A.D. male portraits statues in half life-size from El-Kefar (Aikafar), are cut in this black volcanic porous basalt. Two of the statues have the heads preserved and although they are very simply cut there remains little doubt that they are portrait statues, as one of the heads recalls portraits of Marcus Aurelius.⁶⁹ All three statues hold open book scrolls in their laps and recall Egyptian statuary of scribes. Two of the scrolls have Greek inscriptions, one of which tells that “Rufus son of Asopus presented the statue”. The last inscription reads “Tymos son of -aeros made it out of their own money”⁷⁰ and although this statue is headless it is the most interesting of all because of the decoration of the chair. A human head and a lion carved on either side of the chair on the rail below the seat may be a reference to the *sella curulis*, the chair of a Roman magistrate. The function of these statues is unknown but they show an intriguing mixture of local and foreign influences. The statuary type recalls Egyptian traditional statuary but its details reflect the Roman *sella curulis*.⁷¹ The skills employed in cutting this stone were certainly developed out of ‘need’. This was the stone available locally.⁷² However, beyond their apparent iconographic crudeness, the statues may not just have transmitted connotations of the identity of the patron but also stressed a long and proud local tradition of craftsmen coping with this extraordinary material.

Gold, gilding, silver and ivory

The brilliance of gold, its intrinsic value and connotations of immortality, made gold, and to a certain extent silver a treasured material for portraiture. Literary sources inform us that different emperors rejected the erection of their images in gold because it implied divine honours. In his *Res Gestae* Augustus records that he had 80 statues of himself in silver melted down for better purposes. These examples demonstrate that gold and silver were materials which had connotations of immortality and extravagance and which the emperor used or accepted only cautiously.⁷³ Some of the images in gold representing the emperor were certainly life-size or even colossal but most may have been of small scale

or in the bust format. The only two preserved portrait images of gold are busts and represent the almost life-sized bust of Marcus Aurelius from Aventicum and the approximately half life-size bust of Septimius Severus from Plotinopolis.⁷⁴ Both busts were found in areas where the Roman army had a strong presence and it has been convincingly argued that the gold busts as well as a large silver bust of Lucius Verus from the Marengo treasure found near Torino in Northern Italy served a very specific purpose (plate 16): mounted on standard poles, they were taken on campaign by the Roman army (see fig. 318). The busts could easily be carried around and all three show the emperor in the same type of scale cuirass. This was perhaps a cuirass more suitable to campaigns than the anatomical cuirass ornamented in relief with figural decoration. It indicates a common purpose for all three busts. The standards were the pride of the Roman army. They were guarded and kept in a shrine, *sacellum*, in the middle of the camp when not in use and it was to the *imagines* of the emperor on standards that soldiers swore their oath. Images in gold seem to have been an imperial privilege although epigraphic evidence from the eastern part of the Empire shows that they were awarded to private benefactors at least until the Early Empire. Such examples of private citizens being honoured with portraits in gold are, exceptions however. They no doubt represent a continuation of the type of images set up to Hellenistic rulers and their families, a tradition which quickly disappeared during the Early Empire.⁷⁵

Silver was a material commonly used for imperial portraits. However it is often impossible to determine which format they were executed in from inscriptions. An inscription from Ephesos, for example, records a letter from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the *gerusia* (council). The emperors are replying to a request made by the *gerusia* to be allowed to melt down some old and worn silver images of previous emperors into images of the new emperors. It is replied that the old images should be preserved, and that the inscriptions would help re-identify them. The Greek term used for the images is *eikon*, which could mean either bust or statue.⁷⁶ A series of inscriptions from Ostia, dedicated by members of the *traiectus rusticelii* mentions a special type of silver image of the Roman emperor, a *clipeus* carried by an Atlante in bronze.⁷⁷ Likewise in Ostia, the *collegium* of *cannofori* dedicated silver images of the Antonine and Severan imperial family, of which only the small bases have survived.⁷⁸ Silver and bronze covered with thick silver foil⁷⁹ were certainly also used for private portraits but whether these were only displayed in a private context remains uncertain.

In municipal towns the most desired material for honorific statues of private citizens was gilded bronze. Inscriptions demonstrate that a gilded statue was awarded to especially deserving citizens – probably most

often in the pose of an equestrian statue.⁸⁰ In the epigraphic material compiled by Forbis, only three statues are mentioned to be of gilded bronze and two of them are specified as being equestrian. According to Lahusen only ten of the 25 preserved bronze portraits with remains of gilding, dating from the end of the Republic and into Late Antiquity, are to be identified with imperial persons.⁸¹ Gilding was an expensive technique during the Early Empire, as relatively thick leaves of gold had to be used. This technique was replaced sometime during the first century A.D. by much cheaper leaf gilding (plate 38b).⁸²

Ivory is briefly mentioned below as a material exploited for miniature portraits (plate 24). Literary sources, however, suggest that it was also used for full-size statuary (as acroliths in combination with gold?) to stress royalty because of the parallels with the practices of the Hellenistic kings. After his victory in 45 at Thapsus, Julius Caesar was awarded a statue in ivory to be carried in procession.⁸³

Coloured stones

Because of their connotations of opulence, their exotic nature, rarity and high price, both the hardest coloured stones – porphyry, granite, and basanite – as well as coloured marbles, and alabaster, are included in this section.⁸⁴ Polychromy was essential to Roman portraiture, as we have already seen documented in the traces of paint and gilding on white marble and bronze portrait heads. However the most striking polychromy was achieved by the use of coloured stones for portrait heads, or for busts or wigs joined to heads that were made from white marble. Import of coloured stones to Italy began as early as the second century B.C. but coloured stones were not systematically exploited for sculpture until the Early Empire. Some coloured stones, in particular the purple or brown-veined pavonazzetto marble quarried at Docimium in Western Anatolia (*marmor Phrygium*), carried ideological associations of Rome's superiority and splendour, especially when used for representations of subdued barbarians on victory monuments in Rome and around the Empire.⁸⁵ In portraiture two extremely hard and dense stones, Egyptian red porphyry and Egyptian green/black basalt, basanite, also had ideological connotations, but in this context, of royalty. Basanite, or greywache, known in antiquity as *bekhen* and quarried in the Wadi of Hammamat, was restricted to portraits of the imperial house. Previously common in Hellenistic royal portraiture this stone not only had connotations of royalty: it was probably also associated with Augustus' conquest of Egypt. This may have been the reasons why it was popular for a limited period of time, during the Iulio-Claudians.⁸⁶ The discovery of

basanite imperial portraits, primarily in Rome itself, shows the ideological importance of the stone during that period. It is even possible that its usage was associated with Octavian's victory over Marcus Antonius, who had also been portrayed in that material.⁸⁷ Most of the Julio-Claudian imperial portraits in greywache are not accompanied by records of their findspot and it is therefore impossible to determine whether that material was used in a specific physical context or if the image had a particular function.

Egyptian red porphyry, quarried at Mons Porphyrites, had been used in Hellenistic royal portraiture. Like basanite it also featured occasionally in imposing, idealised statuary during the Roman period (plate 22). Even though basanite and porphyry were difficult to extract and hard to carve in the detail that was required for a portrait, both materials were used for full-figure toga statues of the imperial house. Red porphyry was rare in portraiture during the first two centuries A.D. but a systematic extraction took place from the second century A.D. onwards, and a few private portraits date to that period.⁸⁸ It became more common in the third century. During the period of the Tetrarchs, red porphyry was reserved for the Roman emperors, a material that signalled the glory of royalty throughout the Empire.⁸⁹

Except for the greywache, coloured stones were only rarely used for portraits during the Early Empire, but this changed during the second and early third centuries (plate 14b). Used either for whole statues or busts cut in one piece with the head, or only for statues, busts and wigs combined in striking contrast to a white marble head, coloured stones constituted a display of luxury. Such a display can be observed in other aspects of second-century portraiture, in particular in costumes and hairstyles.⁹⁰ The distribution of portraits in coloured stones was spread geographically throughout the Empire. But still they remained rare, and a privilege of the extremely wealthy. We know, for example, of only one life-size and two miniature portrait busts, as well as a few bust pieces in pavonazzetto, from Rome, Ephesos and Toulouse respectively. All can be dated to between the mid-third and the fourth centuries A.D. (plate 21b).⁹¹ Apart from a certain affinity between material and subject in the use of black marble for representations of Africans and different coloured stones for wigs for instance, coloured stones in portraiture therefore had clear associations with luxury and imperial splendour. In addition, we should take into account the fact that they may have been deliberately commissioned to match the opulent architectural decor in the houses and villas of the aristocracy and the imperial family. For example, the miniature bust of a boy in pavonazzetto mentioned above was found in a private house in Ephesus together with another miniature bust in an exotic material, probably a yellow onyx (plate 21a).⁹²

Rosso antico (*marmor Taenarium*) quarried only at Cape Tainaron on the Mani peninsula on southern Peloponnesus, was reputed to be one of the most expensive and treasured marbles in antiquity. It could only be extracted in relatively small blocks and was therefore rarely used for larger statuary. When it was employed on bigger statues, which was primarily during the Hadrianic period, the statues probably only adorned particularly exclusive settings such as Hadrian's villa.⁹³ A head, perhaps to be identified with Tiberius, is the only known portrait from this material from the first century A.D.⁹⁴ The only four preserved portraits carved in rosso antico from the second century come from the so-called palaestra in Hadrian's villa by Tivoli. The four portrait busts, one of which is in traditional Egyptian style, have been interpreted as representations of Antinous as Osiris and as priest to the Egyptian goddess Isis respectively but their identification remains in dispute (plate 21d).⁹⁵ To use rosso antico and not red porphyry for these 'Egyptanizing' images may have signaled extreme high craftsmanship and illusionism.

Nero antico (*bigio morato*), a black limestone also quarried at Cape Tainaron,⁹⁶ provided some realism in representations of Africans, and was also used for depicting Dacians and Indians. However, it is doubtful as to whether any of these heads are portraits.⁹⁷ Only two heads with a definite portrait character have been preserved in black marble. One may represent Claudius,⁹⁸ while the other female head is of the Severan period.⁹⁹ The combination of black marble for body figures with white marble for the 'extremities' – head, hands and feet – frequently featured in idealising sculpture particularly in Asia Minor and areas dependant on that sculptural tradition, such as Cyprus.¹⁰⁰ It is uncertain whether these combinations of bodies with portraits were used in antiquity¹⁰¹ (plate 23) but a wig from the second century is a realistic match for the white marble head of a woman.¹⁰²

Alabaster was used only very rarely for portrait heads (plates 21c and 23).¹⁰³ However alabaster busts along with white marble heads enjoyed popularity during the second and early third centuries A.D., no doubt to indicate the luxury of expensive garments.¹⁰⁴ A series of female portraits in white marble had their luxurious hairstyles separately added in alabaster.¹⁰⁵ The most spectacular use of alabaster however has survived in an equestrian portrait statue of a small boy found in a tomb on the Via Ostiense by Acilia, outside Rome.¹⁰⁶ It shows a young boy on a rearing horse. The boy has raised his right arm and may have held a whip and he is clad in a short tunica and boots. He sits on what is probably a lion fur. The legs and hands and the mid-third-century A.D. portrait of the young boy, are of white marble, while his torso and the horse is entirely of alabaster. The latter is cut in two parts and joined together at the middle of the belly which is hollowed out. It is possible that the

belly of the horse contained the ashes of the boy. The exotic character of the material and the fact that the boy sits on a lion fur leaves no doubt that he was a member of the highest aristocracy.

Like basalt and porphyry, granite was also a local Egyptian stone employed in traditional Egyptian sculpture. In the later periods it was used for portraits of Hellenistic kings (plate 15).¹⁰⁷ The tradition continued into the Roman era. A small number of portraits of Roman emperors and their families are preserved that are either in the traditional Egyptian-style relief carvings, or are free-standing portraits in a mixed style, with an Egyptianizing body and a Roman head.¹⁰⁸

Miniatures

Portraits in the round were usually made from the same materials as portraits of life-size when in miniature.¹⁰⁹ The term miniature is here used to refer to portraits executed in an especially fine technique suitable only for the miniature scale and style. The category includes relief works such as silverware, cameos and coins, engraved gems, glass pastes, polychrome painted and gold glass discs, and portraits in the round.

Of all media, the miniature profile portraits on coins reached the widest sector of the population. After Caesar had introduced his portrait profile on the mint of Rome this soon became a privilege of the emperor and his family. The centralized production of Roman coinage made the image of the emperor omnipresent. The character of the metal and the exquisite skills of the die carvers allowed for a wealth of details in physiognomy, hairstyles and attributes to be depicted. Such details made the miniature profiles highly individual and recognizable.

Reflecting the trend in profile portraits of the emperor on coins, metal plaques illustrated with the portrait of the emperor might adorn military equipment.¹¹⁰ The circular discs or *phalerae* with the portrait of the emperor were either given to a soldier as a specific recognition for his services or sometimes even distributed among the troops for decoration on uniforms and weapons.

The most conspicuous miniature portraits were made of precious and exotic hard stones, which were carved into relief compositions as cameos, in exquisite detail (plate 20c).¹¹¹ They were cut in large pieces of layered agate or onyx stone. One layer of the stone formed the background while the top layer (of a different colour) was carved in relief into a portrait head in profile or into a figural composition. The most complex cameos reflected trends in the so-called historical reliefs. But while the latter (and coins) could be described as conservative and conventional, the iconography of the cameos was strikingly sophisticated

and experimental. Its main subject was a celebration of the glory of the emperor, his policies and his Empire. The largest and iconographically most advanced cameos celebrated Augustus or the Julio-Claudian imperial house. Their elaborate visual vocabulary bears comparison with contemporary panegyrics. Designed to be viewed at close hand, it is generally believed that they were commissioned as gifts, which circulated between the imperial house and various aristocratic families.¹¹² Engraved gems, on the other hand, served a practical purpose as seals. Roman officials could sign public documents with their personal seal which usually featured their portrait (plate 20a). Augustus likewise used a gem engraved with his portrait in that way.¹¹³ Gems were also worn as amulets or jewellery stones, mounted onto rings or pendants. Portraits in glass paste or small painted polychrome glass discs were probably exchanged as gifts within the family or perhaps between lovers.¹¹⁴ They could be worn as jewellery or mounted on a metal frame which would then be displayed on a stand.¹¹⁵

Gold glass was made by engraving details on leaf-gold, mounting the leaves between two thin glass discs ('sandwich' glass) which were then usually melted onto the wall of a small bowl. The discs may also have been carried on their own as jewellery.¹¹⁶ Although the earliest gold glass tondi date from the first century A.D.,¹¹⁷ they do not become common before the third and fourth centuries, when both the setting up of honorific portraits and the production of portraits of private citizens more generally declined heavily. It is therefore possible that the small luxurious gold glass tondi showing both single portrait busts and family groups were objects of ancestral pride as well as tokens of affection. In this case their function would be similar to that of sculpted portraits displayed in houses, tombs and villas in earlier periods (plate 20d).

Ivory and bone also had an additional role. These materials were used in hairpins carved with female portraits at their top.¹¹⁸ An ivory doll with the typical Severan helmet hairstyle was found in a sarcophagus.¹¹⁹

Ceremonial representations of the governing elite continued to be produced in the form of miniature bronze medallions, contorniates,¹²⁰ and in the so-called consular diptychs, folding writing tablets made in ivory from the tusks of African elephants. The diptychs show the Roman consul and his entourage at various public ceremonies like the opening of games. Most of the sixty-five or so preserved examples produced over a period of 150 years between about A.D. 400 to 550, can be absolutely dated. It has been suggested that these extremely valuable and finely carved miniature ivories were made as New Year's gifts or as invitations to games among the governing aristocratic elite at the court of Constantinople. Neither role is certain however and their function remains unclear.¹²¹



Fig. 100
Miniature head of a woman identified as Domitia Longina.
Faience. Height: 2.6 cm.
Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum.

Miniature portraits in precious materials in the round were mainly used for display on domestic altars. The owner of the house probably worshipped and burned incense before the miniature portraits of the imperial family and his forefathers on a regular basis.¹²² However, miniature portraits may also have been used in other contexts in the house, for example in the *triclinium*.¹²³ The materials in which the portraits were made include chalcedony or agate, translucent rock crystal¹²⁴ and aqua marine,¹²⁵ ivory or related bone material, faience,¹²⁶ and turquoise,¹²⁷ as well as gold and silver (plates 14a, 20b and fig. 100). The only small-scale gold portrait that is preserved represents a Roman emperor (discussed above),¹²⁸ but a number of silver portraits represent both imperial persons and private citizens. Most of them are found out of context, occasionally chopped up because of the value of the metal.¹²⁹ There is no doubt though, that a number of them were originally attached to the centre of *phialae* and used for libation in a cultic context, domestic or public.¹³⁰

Fig. 101
 Miniature bust of a woman with a Severan fashion hairstyle. Wax.
 Height: 0.13 m.
 Liverpool Museum.



Wax

is the material which Pliny the Younger mentions after “colour”. It seems most likely that he is referring to images modelled in wax rather than to painting techniques employing wax as a binder.¹³¹

Several ancient authors state that wax was used for ancestral masks.¹³² These masks symbolized the power and pride of the old Roman aristocratic families. When not paraded in funerary processions to represent deceased ancestors, the masks were usually stored in cupboards (*armaria*) in the atrium of the private family house.¹³³ The reasons for which this proud Republican tradition lost its significance during the Early Empire have been discussed above. What is important to stress here is that no masks have survived. However, wax was not solely used for ancestral masks. It also had a role in portraits as appears to be the case from Pliny's letter.¹³⁴ It may have been the realistic appearance of wax that attracted the mourning Regulus to commission a portrait of his deceased son in that material. Statius also mentions wax, telling us that from it an image of the deceased Priscilla was fashioned to comfort her husband, Abas-

cantus.¹³⁵ According to Appian, when a wax image of Caesar with the twenty three stab wounds that had killed him was presented at his funeral, the crowd got so upset that it burned down the curia and went in search of his murderers.¹³⁶ Wax portraits played an important part in the apotheosis of an emperor. After the body of the emperor was burned or buried a second funerary ceremony might take place. During this ceremony a wax image of the dead emperor would again be burned. An eagle would be released from the pyre, signifying that the emperor's soul had risen to heaven.¹³⁷ As with ancestral masks hardly any evidence for wax portraits has survived. A number of small busts found in what has been interpreted as a domestic shrine in Casa del Menandro in Pompeii are often referred to as made of wax. In fact, they are more likely to have been made of wood (figs. 104–105).¹³⁸ However a putative imperial portrait found at Cumae is supposed to be in wax.¹³⁹ This therefore represents the only preserved wax portrait, apart from the miniature bust of a Severan woman (perhaps Julia Domna), now in Liverpool Museum (fig. 101).¹⁴⁰ The authenticity of this Liverpool bust is however in doubt.

Like plaster, wax is a light material and it is often mentioned in modern research as one that possibly featured in the models used in making multiple copies of the imperial portrait. We have no direct evidence for this function for wax. But a late third-century source states that wax images of the emperor were sent to cities around the Empire from wherever the emperor was; they were treated as if it were the emperor himself who had arrived.¹⁴¹ This source also suggests that wax was used because it could act as a realistic substitute for the person.

Other

Plaster, ¹⁴² terracotta, wood, and mosaics. Plaster was used for both death masks and portrait images. Poorly preserved plaster portraits have often been interpreted as death masks (see above p. 121), no doubt due to the hypothesis that the Roman portrait had developed from them. Yet only few securely identified death masks are extant as the two (positive) casts from Mausoleum H in the necropolis under St. Peter's in Rome discussed above. The same Mausoleum also boasted a gilded plaster portrait of a youth and a series of relief portrait statues in plaster. The technique used in making these slightly under life size relief figures is unclear but they may have been modelled rather than cast. In Mausoleum H a series of marble portraits in the round was also found. Most of the material seems to be contemporary and it demonstrates the variety of material that might be employed to adorn a single tomb.¹⁴³ A plaster mask found

Fig. 102
Stucco bust from tomb
GXXIX in Hama.
Height: 0.28 m. Copen-
hagen, Nationalmuseet.



in a tomb in Lyon showing a child with eyes closed may represent the ten year-old Claudia Victoria commemorated in an epigram also found in the tomb.¹⁴⁴ Two plaster heads from Hama in Syria with flat rear sides and probably dating from the third century A.D. have been interpreted as casts from death masks.¹⁴⁵ The hollow-cheeked face of the man is particularly expressive, with drilled, open eyes. In spite of the realistic features of the faces though, the remains of drapery and of part of the shoulders, as well as the absence of eye-lashes and eye-brows and the fact that the faces are built up from lamb chop bones rather than being cast, suggest that these are busts in the ordinary sense (fig. 102).¹⁴⁶ The same tomb in Hama, tomb XXIX, also boasted a series of limestone portrait busts and statuettes dating from between A.D. 101 and the late second century and some of these portraits show strong Egyptian influence. Whether any of the limestone sculptures are contemporary with the plaster busts is uncertain however. Examples of relief portraits in plaster from Syria also survive.¹⁴⁷ There may well have been a strong



Fig. 103
Bust in terracotta of a man of the Late Republic. The style of the portrait is close to that of contemporary marble portraits. Reported to have come from Cumae.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

local tradition of using plaster for tomb portraits in this region. Stylistically there are close parallels between Egyptian and Syrian portraiture. It is possible that the use of plaster in Syria again signifies close contact with Roman Egypt where plaster was extensively used in the three-dimensional portraits of mummy cases. On the other hand, plaster also took the place of marble in some areas. From Apollonia by Pontus (Thrace) comes a well-preserved plaster bust of a Hadrianic woman, which in details of hairstyle owes much to metropolitan Roman hairstyles. The loosely sketched out hair and drapery suggest that the bust is a sculptor's model.¹⁴⁸ Plaster was occasionally also modelled onto a marble or stone core. This probably occurred when there was shortage of stone or when a portrait was in need of repair.¹⁴⁹

It is likely that large-scale terracotta sculptures were common in second-century B.C. Rome. Pedimental sculptures from Via di San Gregorio include a male figure draped in a short, toga-like garment. It suggests that this material was also used for portrait statues.¹⁵⁰ Terracotta, like plaster, is often referred to as being important for the origin of 'veristic' Roman portraiture. Not only is it thought to have been used in casting death masks. The long tradition of using terracotta for large-scale sculpture in Etruria and Rome has also led to the theory that the typically Italic veristic element in portraiture derived from the combination of terracotta sculptural traditions in Etruria and the taking of death masks.¹⁵¹ The evidence for terracotta portraits in Italy is very limited however. All seem to date to the late second and first centuries B.C.-A.D. These heads may have developed out of the long tradition of terra cotta votive heads in Etruria but the traditional votive heads were

cast whereas the terracotta portrait heads are modelled. Further, the modelled portrait heads in terracotta all seem late and may have been influenced by portraits in marble or limestone from Rome and Italic provincial towns.¹⁵² A terracotta bust in Boston¹⁵³ said to have come from near Cumae, for example shows closeness to contemporary marble busts (fig. 103). Why use terracotta at all for large-scale portraiture in a period when stone and bronze were common? The practical explanation may be that terracotta was a cheap substitute for these materials or that it remained popular in areas where there was a long tradition in the working of the material. It could also be argued that the terracotta portraits functioned as artists' models for the stone versions, just as large-scale terracotta sculpture in general.¹⁵⁴ Or that the choice of terracotta was cultural and ideological and demonstrated the patron's recognition of the old, austere Italic tradition as opposed to foreign Hellenistic influences.

In miniature, terracotta was used for both imperial and private portraiture in the round; examples can be seen in portraits of Augustus¹⁵⁵ and Pompeius¹⁵⁶ and in relief such as those found on lamps.¹⁵⁷ Such miniature terracotta objects were probably used primarily as a substitute for or in imitation of more precious materials. This was obviously the case with an incense burner found in Pompeii adorned with a depiction of the torso of a bearded young man in a toga wearing a *bulla* around his neck.¹⁵⁸ These incense burners, which seem to imitate expensive metalware, probably featured in the celebration of a *rite de passage* from childhood to adulthood in which the boy laid off the *bulla* and shaved for the first time. Similar instances of imitations of metalware are the shield-shaped portrait *phialae* resting on round bases, entirely composed from terracotta. They obviously imitated metal versions mounted on turned wooden bases.¹⁵⁹ Gilding on the terracotta would have made the illusion more convincing. A miniature terracotta disc with a profile portrait of a man found in Ephesus has been interpreted as a ballot.¹⁶⁰

Wood too played a role in the sculptural tradition.¹⁶¹ Apuleius describes a citizen of Tipasa visiting a wood carver's workshop;¹⁶² and an inscription from Ostia mentions an acrolithic image of Commodus possibly in painted wood with extremities in marble.¹⁶³ A papyrus of the 11th and 14th April A.D. 215 records an account of expenditure by the town council concerning the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Ptolemais Euergetis in the nome of Arsinoe in Egypt. Among the expenses recorded, 16 drachmas were paid to the labourers who carried the wooden statue (possibly of the emperor) in procession to the theatre.¹⁶⁴ Remains of portraits in wood are very rare but a bust with cylindrical base from Casa a Graticcio in Herculaneum and perhaps also the busts from



Fig. 104
Exedra with casts of busts made by taking casts of the cavities left in the lava. Pompeii, Casa del Menandro.

Casa del Menandro in Pompeii (mentioned above under wax) were wooden (figs. 104–105).¹⁶⁵ A wooden sarcophagus found near Hama in Syria, probably from the Augustan period, is carved on one side with a head in profile which appears to be a portrait. The figure in the portrait is wearing a laurel wreath and the portrait itself is set in a small square panel of which there would have been a total of nine on the shorter side of the sarcophagus. The two long sides are illustrated with carvings of lions on one side and sirens on the other, and are framed by an egg and dart ornament. The sarcophagus was found near Hama in the 1960's and the wood has been radiocarbon dated to A.D. 20 +/- 45 years.¹⁶⁶ Wood was probably a much used material in sculpture, including portrait sculpture, in certain Gallo-Roman areas. In the waterlogged levels of the healing sanctuary at Fontes Sequanae northwest of modern Dijon in France, numerous wooden sculptures have been preserved, of which several are just under life-size. Some of these probably represent male and female benefactors.¹⁶⁷ No doubt plaster, terracotta, and wood were all used as a cheaper substitute for marble or metal.

Mosaic floors may boast single portraits or sets of portraits of *literati* of the past. Such images would suggest the use of the room in which they feature as a library.¹⁶⁸ Portraits of contemporary persons were much less common in mosaics. A rare example of a detailed colourful portrait of a woman composed of miniature *tesserae* survives from Pompeii. It was probably displayed at eye level like a panel painting, *emblema vermiculatum*. The woman wears a fashion hairstyle with her hair parted

Fig. 105
Detail of the wooden
busts in Fig. 104.



in the middle and collected in a loose bun at the back. The whimsical curls in front of the ears indicate a date in the early first century A.D.¹⁶⁹ A number of third-century A.D. floor mosaics from villas in North Africa show portraits¹⁷⁰ and abundant evidence, also primarily from the third century, exists from Syria from both domestic and funerary contexts. A mosaic from Mariamin, a villa near Hama shows a troop of female musicians wearing fashion hairstyles typical of the fourth century A.D.¹⁷¹

The choice of material in portraiture was dependent on a number of factors: the materials traditionally used for honorific statues; economic conditions; personal tastes; local preferences; and chronological developments. The literary and epigraphic sources demonstrate that various forms of representation that have not survived, such as painting, were an important portrait media throughout the Roman Empire during most periods. In spite of regional variation and chronological changes, it seems that bronze and gilded bronze remained at the top of the hierarchy as the most exalted material from which a publicly dedicated honorific statue could be constructed. Neither the cultic overtones connected to the marble *agalma* in the Hellenistic East nor the development of new techniques in the cutting of marble during the second century A.D. seem to have effected the standing of bronze as the most prestigious material.

Statuary Body Types of Roman Men: All About Status?



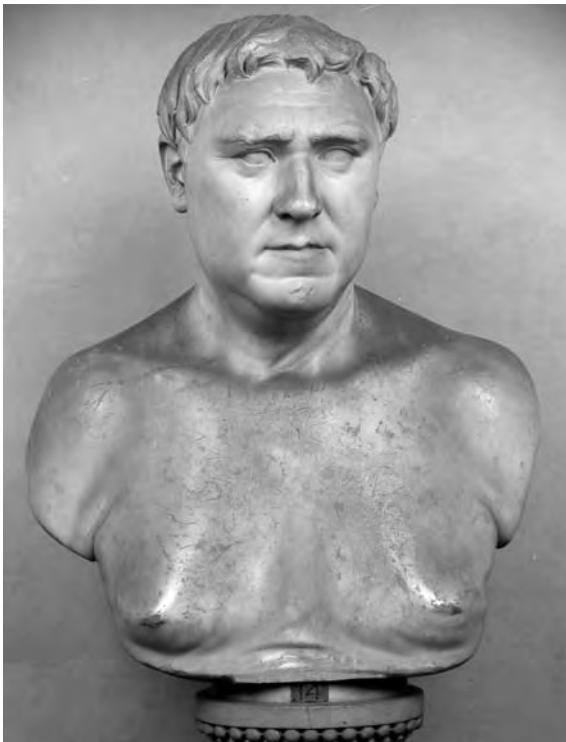
The Romans used two different formats for carrying the portrait head: 1. the full body figure, and 2. the abbreviated image. The full body figure was represented standing, seated or on horseback; figures reclining on a couch were depicted exclusively in the funerary context. The abbreviated image took the form of a free-standing bust, a half-figure, a herm or a tondo, *clipeata imago*. Both formats were sculpted in a range of sizes, from miniature to colossal. The colossal dimension was reserved exclusively for the emperor, however.¹ The full body figure of about life-size, mounted on a high base, was the most commonly chosen format in public honours. The attention of the viewer was drawn towards the pose of the statue, its body language and in particular its dress code, which reflected the status of the honorand. In contrast to the full-figure statues, abbreviated images drew the viewer's attention to the physiognomy and hairstyle of the patron. Being displayed at eye level, face-to-face with the viewer, the function of the abbreviated image went far beyond advertising the honorand's social position; it directly engaged the viewer's gaze.

The full-figure statuary body types of Roman men. All about status?

Scattered remarks made by different ancient authors give some hints about how the ancient viewer might have decoded a portrait statue. Cicero mentions *status* (stance), *amictus* (costume), *anulus* (jewellery that signified rank, in this instance a ring), and *imago* (the portrait) as telling features. Dio Chrysostom points out the importance of the *karakter* (inscription) and in a further description the *esthes* (costume), *hypodesis* (footwear) and the appearance (i.e. whether old or young) in that order. Cicero is referring to a statue in Rome and he focuses on identifying the rank of the person portrayed, while Dio is describing statues on Rhodes.

Fig. 106

This bust is one of the few examples of a body reflecting the age of the patron. First quarter of the second century A.D. Marble. Height: 0.71 m. Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti.



Dio dwells on the costume as a sign of difference between cultures. Significantly, both authors are concerned with the dress conventions of the statues while the actual portrait image and its putative verisimilitude to the person it depicts plays an insignificant role, or no role at all.²

It has long been realized that in Roman portrait statuary the bodies depicted cannot be understood as fully natural. Instead they signify such diverse aspects as legal and social status, authority, gender and sexuality. The body's posture, how the arms were held, the direction of the head, the costume chosen and its arrangement, were all important signs of the identity of the subject portrayed. The body of a Roman portrait statue did not in any respect reflect physical individuality in stature or age (fig. 106).³ We have to read behind what at least *prima facie* appear as very standardized body types showing men in the toga, himation, cuirass or in the nude. Women, when not in the *stola*, were depicted wearing idealised Greek costumes (discussed in Part Three). This does not imply that the Romans were not concerned with body language; but statuary bodies were, in contrast to the head proper, not intended to distinguish one individual from another. Even though some statuary bodies may show apparent signs of individuality in having a large stomach or a sagging breasts for example, the combination of a naked young female body

with the portrait head of an old matrona makes it strikingly clear that the body could have a symbolic character. The bodily form of the statues could be used to emphasize certain virtues, characteristics or roles occupied by the figure portrayed. It could draw on personal features including sexuality, maturity and authority. However, most body types chosen were intended primarily to emphasize the rank of the person they represented, or to indicate that person's public role in the community. Further, the body could be utilised to represent the person's character in an idealised form. Accordingly, the dominant male costume in the West, the *toga*, and the *stola* for women, were indicative of rank and immediately informed the viewer about the carriers' status and even public offices they might hold. The himation, preferred by men in the East, placed the emphasis generally on the subject's civic role; the cuirass alluded to military achievements or simply strength, power and manliness. Nudity iconography echoed that of Classical idealising statuary and transferred the patron into the world of heroes and myth. It becomes evident at a second glance that there was quite a wide selection of body types from which to choose, albeit standardized ones. Because most portrait bodies were probably not randomly chosen from a large mass-produced stock, as it is sometimes believed, but were commissioned with a specific context in mind, variety in statuary bodies was perhaps more the rule than the exception. The conventions governing statuary types were also chronologically conditioned, with preferences for certain body types prevailing in certain periods. Other body types were specific to the profession of the person portrayed⁴ (see fig. 17). Embroidered material and woven in gold thread might be represented on the statue in paint. The fullness and quality of the material used for a costume, would be expressed in paint, or simply through the vividness of the carving. These variations, subtle or otherwise, would each in their own way signify different aspects of the honorands' gender and social status, as well as the roles they held in public and in private life.

The *toga*

As a point of departure for our study of statuary body types we may begin with a brief look at an inscription recording nine honorific statues in five different habits, which were in bronze and marble materials. These were voted for Volusius Saturninus posthumously by the Roman Senate in A.D. 56 and displayed in some of the most prominent locations in Rome (the inscription and the statuary types are discussed in detail in the Addendum). They included:

3 triumphal statues:	1 in bronze in Augustus' forum 2 in marble in the Templum Novum of the deified Augustus in the Forum Romanum
3 consular statues:	1 in the temple of the deified Caesar 1 on the Palatine 1 in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine
1 augural statue:	in the regia
1 seated on sella curulis:	in the porticus Lentulorum by the Theatre of Pompey
1 equestrian:	near the rostra in the Forum Romanum

Saturninus was a very famous and influential man with a political career spanning from Augustus into the early reign of Nero when he died. He served as consul during the reign of Augustus and was later appointed proconsul of Asia. He finally served as praefect of Rome. The statues, which Volusius Saturninus was voted posthumously represented the highest honours that the Roman Senate could bestow. They probably all showed Saturninus in the toga, adapted to his rank and the different offices and public roles he had held during his life.

When Volusius Saturninus was awarded his statues, the toga had long been the costume in which Roman citizens appeared in public in the West. There it was the prevailing costume for men, but it could in principle be worn by any free Roman citizen around the Empire. To be a Roman citizen was to be superior to others. The toga was perceived as a specific Roman national costume, with the Romans being called *gens togata*. It was also associated with peace, as well as indicating that its wearer was someone who had control of business or public administrative affairs, civic or religious.⁵ The serene stance and the heavily draped folds of the togate figure made it the icon of the elite politician. It was expressive of the most serious Roman virtues, of *gravitas* and of *constantia*. The projecting arms and the various attributes held in one or both hands differentiated the language and function of one togate statue from another.⁶ Most of the toga statues in marble have a support at the ankle. In some cases this was technically essential to support the statue at the ankles which were its weakest point. But the support was also deployed because it added to the overall composition and meaning of the representation, as when being depicted in representations on reliefs (fig. 108). The most frequently used support was a *capsa* for containing book scrolls or even just a bundle of book scrolls on their own, or a set of writing tablets.⁷ Literary texts and legal and administrative documents were kept as book scrolls. When the book scroll was combined with the



Fig. 107
Togate statue (with modern head), perhaps representing the *patronus* of a *collegium*. At his right ankle is a *capsa* filled with book scrolls. These are identified by inscription as *CONSTITUTIONES*, copies of imperial letters. On the *capsa* itself *CORPORIS MUNIMENTA* is inscribed referring to instruments of defence for the corporation. Late second to early third century A.D. Marble. Height including the modern head: 1.89 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.

Fig. 108
Fragment of a sarcophagus relief showing a togate figure with 'ankle' support, a bunch of book scrolls, at his right leg. Ostia, outside the museum.



Fig. 109
Detail of the *capsa* of Fig. 107. The inscription is CIL VI 29814.

wearing of the toga it first and foremost signalled civic administrative responsibility. A late-second- to early-third-century A.D. (headless) toga statue has a *capsa* filled with book scrolls inscribed as depictions of *constitutiones*, copies of imperial letters (figs. 107, 109).⁸ The statue support of a *capsa* as well as the book scroll, which many togati held in one hand, thus emphasized the civic character of the statuary type.⁹ When the toga was worn *capite velato*, pulled over the back of the head, a pose normal in the context of sacrificial or religious ceremony, the bookscroll was usually accompanied by a *phiale* held in the other hand.

The origin of the toga garment remains uncertain.¹⁰ During the Republic it was draped similarly to the Greek himation, but by the late Republican and early imperial period it had become full-length and received its distinctive features of *sinus* (overfold), *umbo* ('knob') and *lacinia* (figs. 110–111).¹¹ It was worn over a white tunica that was ornamented with a purple stripe running down the chest. The width of the stripe on the tunic was determined by the rank of the person who wore it. Senators wore the wide purple stripe, *latus clavus* and equestrians the narrow, *angustus clavus*.¹² The toga itself could be adorned with a purple border around the edge, in the *toga praetexta*. This was reserved for officials such as consuls, high magistrates and priests. In combination with the appropriate footwear – senatorial high boots with long laces, equestrian boots or more simple styles, the togate costume immediately informed the viewer about the rank of the person who wore it.¹³ Unlike any other Roman costume, the toga was cut in a half-circle (similar to the Greek *chlamys*) and we hear repeatedly from ancient authors that it was incredibly impractical and difficult to wear. It had to be draped without the help of any seams or pins that might keep the heavy bunch of drapery in place over the left shoulder. Carrying it appropriately must have required much practice and constant rearranging. However, indications of practical discomfort are not reflected in sculpture, where the toga is always impeccably worn – a sculptor unfamiliar with the toga may have misunderstood its draping but that is a different story.¹⁴ Even within the same workshop there are variations in details of the draping and styling of the toga, as the togati supplied by a single workshop from Merida show; these were all made for the same context.¹⁵ It is important to realize though, that changes in the draping of the toga between the late first century B.C. and the late second century A.D., were minimal (fig. 112).

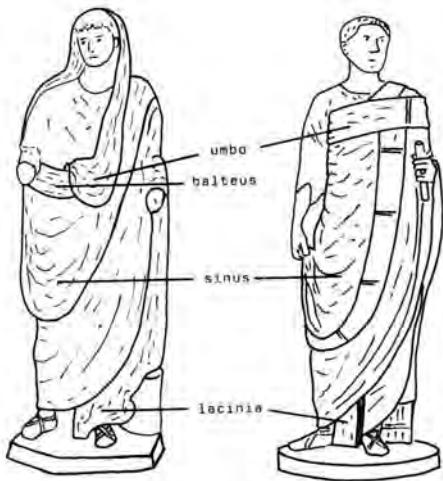


Fig. 110
This drawing identifies the characteristic elements of the traditional first and second century A.D. toga and to the right the so-called stacked toga, popular from the early third century A.D.



Fig. 111
Statue of a figure in *calcei senatorii* and a short *toga exigua* draped similarly to the Greek *pallium*. Late Republican period.
Marble. Height: 1.81 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Fig. 112
Statue of Augustus wearing the fully developed early imperial toga. The veiled head is separately inserted and in a different marble than that used in the body itself.
Found in Via Labicana in Rome. Height: 2.05 m.
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo.

Continuity and change in drapery

Only minor changes in the drapery of the toga statue took place between the late first century B.C. and the end of the second century A.D. Variation was primarily achieved through the 'Standmotiv' and the vividness of the drapery. From the mid-first century A.D. on, the drapery became more voluminous and required more material. The increasing availability of good quality marble made it possible to depict these trends in statuary representation.¹⁶ The growing volume of the toga in statuary depictions was probably part of an attempt to keep it 'up to date'. Political and rhetorical speech delivery became more flamboyant, demanding more movement from the performer. During the early second century, some togati were draped with a very small *umbo* and there was more emphasis on the *balteus*, resulting in reduced visibility of the rank-fixed purple *praetexta* border.¹⁷ Yet it must be stressed that the growing attention to flamboyant drapery styles during the late first to second century A.D. was not just restricted to the togate statue. On the so-called Cancelleria reliefs, commissioned during the reign of Domitian, drapery is given a key role (fig. 113). The viewer's attention is drawn towards the large and beautifully arranged costumes carried by humans and deities. The costumes create both rhythm and direction in the scenes in a way that had not been seen before.

It is, however, important to emphasize that after the late Republican full toga had appeared at the end of the first century B.C., the first fundamental alterations in its drapery did not take place until the late second century, with the introduction of the banded toga, *toga contabulata* (a modern 'Latinization').¹⁸ The *toga contabulata* had broad bands of carefully stacked series of folds and is therefore often referred to as the

Fig. 113
Frieze B of the so-called
Cancelleria reliefs showing the *adventus* of
Vespasian. Marble. Vatican
Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano.





Fig. 114
Detail of one of the four portrait tondi which adorned the west and east facades of the quadrifrons erected in A.D. 163 in honour of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Oea, modern Tripoli. The bust is clad in an early version of the stacked toga.



Fig. 115
Figure in so-called stacked toga with *sinus* and *umbo* draped in stiff stacked folds. Marble. Early third century A.D. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

stacked or banded toga. It is possible that the region in which this particular way of draping the toga originated was Egypt, where priests had been wearing a stacked costume since the late first century A.D.¹⁹ This new drapery arrangement radically affected the upper part of the toga, which was now worn tightly, being stiff and formal (fig. 115). Instead of the softly bunched *umbo* and *balteus* running across the chest and above the left shoulder, a wide band of stacked folds, the new *umbo*, ran from below the right arm around the left shoulder. The former *sinus* was replaced by another band of stacked folds running from the back below the right knee and up on the left shoulder below the stacked *umbo*. Versions with only one band of stacked folds appeared in the late Antonine period, for example in the tondi reliefs on the arch of Marcus Aurelius in Oea, modern Tripoli, dedicated in A.D. 168; but the fully developed *toga contabulata* did not become common in Rome before the late Severan period (fig. 114).²⁰

One may wonder why the traditional toga underwent such radical changes which were possibly even inspired by foreign fashions. Because the toga was first and foremost associated with the right of being a free Roman citizen, the traditional arrangement of the drapery may have lost its significance in the second century, when citizenship itself became much less exclusive. It is estimated that there were around six million citizens at the time of Augustus and forty-five to sixty million at the middle of the second century A.D. The figure reached its peak in A.D. 212 when Caracalla conferred citizenship on all free inhabitants of the Empire with his *Constitutio Antoniana*.²¹ These huge numbers illustrate the way in which the meaning of citizenship was subject to 'infla-

Fig. 116
So-called Sarcophagus of
the two Brothers. The
three scenes depict the
same person in four dif-
ferent roles. Marble.
Length: 2.55 m. Third
quarter of the third cen-
tury A.D. Naples, Museo
Nazionale.





Fig. 117
Detail of the left scene of the sarcophagus Fig. 116 showing the patron in fully stacked toga surrounded by men also wearing fully stacked togas. The scene probably alludes to the patron as holding high office. The patron is characterized by a specific physiognomy and fashion hairstyle while the surrounding togate figures are depicted with heads of a generic type.

Fig. 118
Detail of the person on the right of the sarcophagus in fig. 116 showing the patron in traditional imperial toga shaking hand with a female figure.



Fig. 119
Detail of the centre scene of the sarcophagus in Fig. 116 showing the same person in himation with nude breast in conversation with himself(?) wearing an early version of the stacked toga. The scene probably alludes to the intellectual qualities of the patron as premise for high office.

Fig. 120
Concordia scene with imperial handshaking from the quadrifrons of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna. Caracalla wears the traditional toga with knob-like umbo while Septimius Severus and Geta wear an early version of the stacked toga. Probably erected between A.D. 203 and 209.

tion'. It became so common that to advertise one's citizen status via the wearing of the toga became less attractive. This may have been an important factor for the introduction of the new-banded toga type. As there are only few preserved statues draped in this new-banded toga,²² it is likely that it was worn much more restrictively than the traditional imperial toga. It is therefore possible that the banded toga was intended to single out high-ranking magistrates or even holders of a specific office. There are, however, a substantial number of preserved busts in the banded toga, and we cannot exclude the possibility that this drapery arrangement, which in particular affected the portrayal of the upper part of the body, was developed with special reference to the ever more popular bust format. The banded toga not only had a more formal look but it was also very elaborate, with its wide-banded *umbo*, which could be decorated opulently. The banded toga became the preferred way of wearing the toga during the third and into the fourth century. When used in public honorific statues it was probably restricted to honorands of the highest office-holding class, as suggested above. In the bust format and in the funerary context, however, it featured much more widely (see fig. 175).²³ The restricted use of the banded toga in public coincides chronologically with a general decline in the number of honorific statues being set up and at a time when the social make-up of the honorands was becoming increasingly restricted.

The traditional early and middle imperial toga remained in currency however. This is clearly evidenced on the mid-third century 'Sarcophagus of the two Brother' (figs. 116–119). The sarcophagus shows what is apparently the same individual, probably the dead man, in four different roles and dressed in three different toga arrangements. In the first scene on the right he appears in the early imperial toga in a *dextrarum junctio* situation, shaking hands with a woman which symbolizes the *concordia* between husband and wife. In the following scene, moving towards the left he appears twice, probably as a magistrate. Here we get a different draping of the toga with a loosely-stacked *umbo* on the shoulder. The man is depicted in conversation with either himself or (less likely) with his brother who is dressed as an intellectual, in Greek himation with nude breast. The himation figure draws attention with his right hand to the scroll, which he holds in his left hand. Perhaps this pairing of the same person in the 'philosophical' himation worn with naked breast and the new but not fully developed stacked toga, suggests that the background, for holding office was erudition and learning, *paideia*. An alternative interpretation may be that in *otium* the patron was concerned with intellectual affairs. In the final scene towards the left he wears the fully developed stacked toga. He is surrounded by the *apparitio*: the attendants and fasces following a high Roman magistrate are

visible in the background in low relief. The deceased stands out from the rest of the figures (who hold the *sinus* in their left hand, whereby the *sinus* becomes much less visible) in his fully stacked toga with its long, elegantly slung *sinus*. The deceased and the figure just next to him both draw attention to this full draping of his toga by touching or pointing at the *sinus*. It is therefore possible that the full contabulated toga signified not just a holder of a high office but even the holder of a specific office.²⁴ It is not at all clear in what roles or situations the traditional toga was employed rather than the half and full stacked toga, and vice versa. Both types appear simultaneously, not just on the same sarcophagus but also on state reliefs of the same monument. On the arch of Septimius Severus in Lepcis Magna which was probably erected between 203/4 and 207, the traditional imperial toga and the early contabulated toga of the late second century appear in the same scene. In the Concordia scene Septimius Severus and Geta both wear the new contabulated, half stacked, toga while Caracalla, with whom Severus is shaking hands, is wearing the traditional imperial one. The loosely arrayed *umbo* of the early imperial toga is clearly visible in the profile view of Caracalla. In the triumphal scene on the same arch all three imperial family members wear the new contabulated toga (fig. 120).²⁵

A final late antique version of the toga appeared during the fourth century.²⁶ This was the so-called 'Broad Eastern Toga', known primarily in the East but also from Rome (fig. 121). It was shorter than the other togas, and draped differently to them. Two undergarments were worn beneath it, one of which had proper sleeves. In the arrangement of the toga itself a wide piece of drapery descended from the right shoulder, forming a deep *sinus*; this was then held in the left hand. The statue was usually slightly under life-size. All the detail was at the front, where it was wide and impressive; it had very little depth. It was highly colourful, with rich embroidery. The person portrayed often held a sceptre in his left hand and a *mappa*, handkerchief, in his right. Whether or not the *mappa* was an attribute of the consul, there remains no doubt that the use of this late toga was also probably reserved for persons of senatorial rank.²⁷ But even into the fifth century the traditional early imperial *togatus* statue was still in production and used for honorific statues in important locations around the city. However, it had become very slim and mannered and a much smaller block of marble was needed (fig. 122).²⁸

Fig. 121
Figure of a governor in
so-called eastern toga
holding *mappa*. Found in
Horti Liciniani in Rome.
Marble. Height: 2.36 m.
Rome, Musei Capitolini,
Centrale Montemartini.





Fig. 122
Statue of a man in traditional toga tentatively identified as the *praefectus annonae* Vicentius Ragonius Celsus, ca. 400. Found in the so-called forum baths in Ostia. Marble. Height (excluding base): 1.85 m. Ostia, Museo Ostiense.

Toga versus himation

While the toga was the dominant civic costume in statuary of magistrates, benefactors and city nobles in the West from the Republican period onwards, it was never really integrated into the statuary repertoire in the Greek East except around the imperial court. In Greece there seems to be sufficient evidence to conclude that the toga was primarily worn by the emperor and by magistrates in imperial service, *homines novi*. This group would include Greeks of senatorial rank for instance, and other local peers and officials associated with the imperial court.²⁹ Similar restrictions in its use may have obtained in other eastern provinces, too. Yet the geographical distribution of the toga statue was very widespread, reaching out even to the farthest provinces of the Empire. Some provinces in North Africa and Asia Minor have boasted numerous examples while we have only isolated examples from Syria and Palestine, and none at all from Cyprus. We have already noted the difference between the use of Latin versus Greek in Leptis Magna in Tripolitania and Cyrene in the Cyrenaica. This same pattern is reflected in the use of the toga versus the himation. In Leptis Magna the dominant costume is the toga and most statues were set up on statue bases inscribed in Latin. In Cyrene, which remained very much a Greek city throughout the imperial period, the himation predominates, and most statues were set up on bases with either bilingual inscriptions or were inscribed in Greek. Tradition and cultural identity in these two geographically close cities seem to have been determining factors in the choice of costume. The explanations for this diversity in the use of the toga across the Empire are probably not straightforward. No doubt the presence of Roman officials was more widespread in some provinces than others. Some provinces, too, may have been more adaptable to Roman culture and dress. On the other hand, other regions may have been more conservative and (or) interested in maintaining their links with the Greek past. Bronze, much more prone to recycling than marble, may have been the dominant material in particular areas, and chronology may also play a role. During the second century A.D., a period from which much of the sculptural material from Cyprus derives,³⁰ Roman citizenship had become much more common. There was probably little prestige to be gained in representing oneself as a Roman citizen.

There remains no doubt that most men in the East were portrayed in the traditional Greek civic costume, the himation, which was usually worn over a *chiton*.³¹ The arrangement of the himation (Latin *pallium*) in two basic ways either with the right arm and shoulder free (the so-called Coan type) or with both arms encircled by the himation (the so-called arm sling type) remained fairly unchanged from the late Classi-

cal period, and throughout the Roman era.³² However, just as certain details in the toga of the East were adapted from Greek statuary types (see below), some provincial centres in the East added variations to the drapery of the himation which may have been influenced by the arrangement of drapery and rank-related details of the toga. In Aphrodisias, a priest in the cult of Aphrodite was honoured in the early first century A.D. in the bouleuterion with a marble statue, which formed part of a larger family group. He is dressed in a whimsy himation with a wide (engraved) border as well as wearing Roman senatorial boots with their typical double laces. The border on the himation alluded to the purple border of the *toga praetexta* and the boots were introduced to the Greek costume to lend it an aura of high status, stressing to both local and Roman viewers that the honorand was a person of high rank.³³ Similarly, many of the so-called mummy portraits portray the deceased in a white tunic. This is adorned with a purple stripe which alludes to the *clavi* on the tunica of the toga costume, tokens which again signified the rank of the wearer.³⁴ Some *palliat* also show the *lacinia*, one of the two corners of the toga which falls between the ankles.³⁵ In second century A.D. Cyrene the himation may be draped in long curvy folds which traverse the body from right leg to the left shoulder. The emphasis of the cascade of drapery held up by the left arm³⁶ was probably influenced by the draping of the voluminous late first- and second-century A.D. toga.³⁷ It may have been a way of keeping the himation up-to-date, without impinging on the sartorial identity of the patron. In contrast, togati from Greece may boast small but conventional details of drapery, which are alien to the western toga but recall Hellenistic Greek statuary. A small omega-shaped fold on the top edge of the veil of a *capite velato* togatus and a series of S-shaped zig-zag folds ‘queuing up’ above the *balteus*, are details which are otherwise only found in Classical and Hellenistic Greek statuary. Their presence on togate statues was probably meant to constitute a recognition of the proud Greek statuary tradition (fig. 123).³⁸ Misunderstandings in the arrangement, as well as ‘local’ details in the draping of the togate statues indicate that they were made in regional or local workshops. While the toga was exclusively worn with boots that were indicative of rank, the himation was usually worn with sandals. It could also be worn with many other types of footwear. We have already seen the combination of himation with senatorial boots in the statue from the bouleuterion in Aphrodisias and Dio implies in his Rhodian Oration that the national identity of the statue honorand could be known by his footwear. The prices of different types of footwear recorded in Diocletian’s Price Edict (including for instance Babylonian and Phoenician *calcei*), give an impression of the variety.³⁹

Fig. 123

Toga statue representing a member of the Iulio-Claudian Imperial house, perhaps Nero. Found in the sanctuary of Demeter in Eleusis. Marble. Height: 2.1 m. Eleusis Museum.



Problems in chronology

The popularity of the toga statue reached its peak during the Iulio-Claudian period. Literary sources suggest a growing dissatisfaction with it during the later first century A.D. and apparently this had an effect on its use in statuary in both the western part of the Empire including North Africa and in the eastern regions, in Asia Minor for instance.⁴⁰ According to the catalogue in Hans Rupprecht Goette's study of toga statues (those headless and those with their original heads), there are about twice as many statues dating from the early Augustan to the Neronian period than from the Flavian to the Antonine period, which represents more or less the same time-span. There was apparently a drastic

decline in the use of the togate figure as portrait statue during the late-first and the second centuries A.D.

Early Augustan – Neronian	301
Flavian – Antonine	166

According to Goette's catalogue however, there were about 18 Claudian togati with preserved heads but 70 headless ones, that is almost four times as many. These are ascribed by Goette to the Claudian period on grounds of style and typology of the toga. For the Antonine period Goette includes 10 toga statues with heads; but he ascribes only 8 headless statues to that period.

	with head	without head
Claudian	18	70
Antonine	10	8

These figures suggest certain problems and three main questions in particular.

1. Is it really possible to date the togate statue exclusively on typological and stylistic criteria? The togate figure continued relatively unchanged from the early first into the late second century; further, old-fashioned, traditional ways of draping the toga was used simultaneously with new variations.⁴¹
 2. If these figures are correct, what is the reason for the declining popularity of the toga?
 3. Which body figures replaced it?
- In response to the first question there is no doubt that there was a decline in numbers of togate figures produced from the Flavian period onwards; this is evinced by the more securely dated togati preserved with heads. Whether or not the decline was as striking as suggested by Goette's figures is highly questionable however. Goette's figures indicate that too many togate figures without heads may have been ascribed to the early period.
 - The answer to the second question – why there was a decline in the use of the toga statue during the late first and second centuries, when according to the preserved statue bases there was no general decline in the number of statues being set up in public spaces - has already been outlined; the decreasing prestige in which Roman citizenship was held may account for why more people in the East preferred to be depicted in the himation.⁴² The himation had never gone out of fashion in the East and it had since the Classical period been the pre-

ferred body figure for male portraits. It is quite likely that to a wide extent it replaced the wearing of the toga in the East. In the West the himation was never a serious issue in the statuary representation, however. Roman citizens did not appear in public clad in the himation, in statuary representation at least. In the West the *pallium* was worn in times of otium,⁴³ sometimes in the semi-private *scholae*,⁴⁴ and it is also pictured in tombs. From the late Antonine period onward, a significant number of sarcophagi represent images of the deceased as an intellectual, dressed in the *pallium* and holding a book scroll; such scenes refer either to his magisterial role as a holder of public office or point towards his intellectual life (especially when the Muses are also involved; see fig. 116). This mode of representation probably alluded to the education and intellectual background of the deceased, which became a prerequisite for success in public life during the second and third centuries A.D.⁴⁵ This Greek mode of representation served to describe only one facet of the character of the man portrayed and it was never in itself a dominant element in public honorific statuary in the West. Similarly, the emperor never wore the himation (see below).

- The third question asked which alternative body types might have replaced the toga statue in the second and third centuries A.D. During this period, the only statuary types which figured frequently, were the so-called heroic nude statues, the cuirass statues, and lastly the ever more popular bust format. It is with this question in mind that I now turn to the subjects of nudity, the function of the cuirass statue, and the role of the bust format.

Nudity

Statues showing the honorand completely naked or with a mantle slung around their hips (the so-called Hüftmanteltypus) or bunched over one shoulder (Schulterbauschtypus) are often referred to in modern scholarship as being in the guise of ‘heroic nudity’.⁴⁶ Unlike the toga, nudity was not a costume which had an equivalent in actual civic life: a Roman citizen would not go nude or demi-nude to a ceremony in the forum. Nude statues were meant to inform the viewer about the extraordinary, heroic character or achievements of the person portrayed. Furthermore, statuary nudity had a long tradition in the representation of Classical deities. It had also long been employed in the Hellenistic East for the representation of mortals (both deceased and living) in funerary art, and in honorific statues of kings and leaders, and in the representation of athletes. The Greeks therefore associated nudity with the supernatural strength and power of gods, heroes and kings, as well as with the re-

alistic youth and beauty of well-trained athletes. The Romans, on the other hand, did not favour real nudity. They did not think much of physical (Greek) exercise either, and they certainly did not honour athletes with statues. Even in statuary of deities they considered nudity odd at first.⁴⁷ In Pliny the Elder's times, nudity in statuary representation was still conceived as a foreign, Greek, practice.

In the old days the statues dedicated were simply clad in the toga. Also naked figures holding spears, made from models of Greek young men from the gymnasiums – what are called figures of Achilles – became popular. The Greek practice is to leave the body entirely nude, whereas Roman and military statuary adds a breastplate.⁴⁸

Why then did the Romans take over a statuary convention that was not just Greek but also involved nudity?

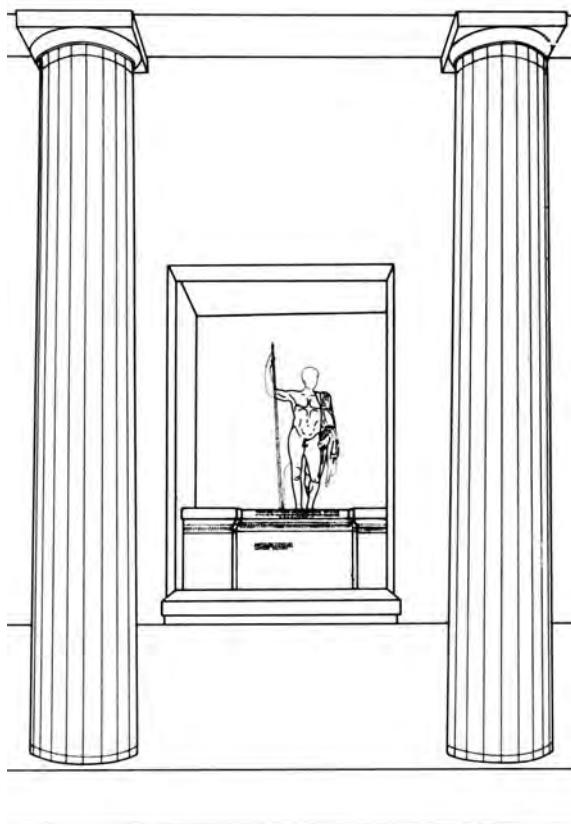
Athletic contests and athletes themselves continued to play a significant role in civic life in the East during the Roman period and nude honorific statues of victorious athletes were a common sight in the cities in the eastern part of the Empire. No doubt there were still many nude statues of Hellenistic kings around in Greek cities when the Romans took control of the Greek East in the second century B.C. We do not know how Roman governors and magistrates on duty in the East reacted towards these nude honorific statues but they were probably aware that the Greeks considered nudity to be the most aesthetically appealing and prestigious guise in which to represent a mortal. The inscriptions indicate that the Romans accepted and probably appreciated the Greek mode of honouring and worshipping their new leaders as heroes. The cults formed in this context were similar to the way in which the Greeks had honoured their own Hellenistic leaders. Practices of honouring local civic benefactors also adhered to this pattern right into the Early Empire, when cultic honours finally became reserved for the emperor.⁴⁹ It is possible that the Romans found the traditional Greek way of representing kings as nude an appropriate way of publicising their new role. They were treated not only as governors with supreme political power but also as heroes, honoured with a cult.

The earliest nude statues of Romans

To judge from the surviving material the Greeks were the first to represent Romans in nudity. It must be stressed, though, that we lack securely dated evidence. It is therefore possible that the earliest nude honorific statues from the West date from around the same time as the earliest statues of Romans in the nude from the East, that is, from the early first century B.C.

Fig. 124

The setting of the over life-size statue of C. Ofellius Ferus in the so-called Agora of the Italians on Delos.



A statue from Delos may represent the earliest surviving statue of a Roman in the nude (fig. 124). The statue was discovered on the so-called Agora of the Italians, a market square surrounded with porticoes and in which 'the Italians', Italian traders on Delos, were engaged in their work. They also set up numerous portrait statues in honour of Roman commanders and magistrates as well as statues of other individuals, as is the case of the statue under discussion. This impressive statue of C. Ofellius Ferus, which is well over life-size, was found in a niche behind the portico together with the statue base that belongs to it. The inscription states that the Italians set up the statue to the merchant (*negotiator*) C. Ofellius Ferus who was both honourable (*dikaiosyne*) and good (*philagathia*) as a dedication to Apollo.⁵⁰ The inscription also tells that the statue was commissioned with two of the best Athenian sculptors, Dionysios and Timarchides. As the description of Orfellius is summed up by only two adjectives, he obviously could not boast any distinguished public career. It is to be assumed that he was a successful merchant and important benefactor on Delos, just like those who dedi-

cated the statue to him. Ofellius is depicted completely naked except for a fringe-trimmed mantle, probably a military cloak, which he carries over his left shoulder and lowered arm. The statue reflects a type originally employed to represent Hermes; he may therefore have carried a *kerykeion*, but a sword is a more likely reconstruction. Weapons often replaced the original attributes because they were more appropriate in alluding to the strength and manliness of the figure portrayed. Ofellius' right arm was raised, perhaps in an *adlocutio* gesture. The inscription does not provide any evidence for the date of the statue. However, the construction of the agora began in around 110 B.C. thus providing a *terminus post quem*; and it is unlikely that the statue and other statues of Romans were set up on Delos after 88 B.C.⁵¹ The muscles on the neck show that his (missing) head was turned upwards and towards his right. Other contemporary portraits from Delos give an impression of the kind of portrait which might have been employed for Ofellius. One, found likewise on the 'Agora of the Italians', shows a middle-aged man with a strong, pathetically turned neck. He has short hair, is clean-shaved and has features that are apparently realistic rather than idealising – his eyes are deeply set eyes below a furrowed forehead and bushy eyebrows and nasolabial lines are digging into his fleshy skin⁵² (see fig. 192).

The Romans used a variety of different nude body types to bear their portraits. The reason for which certain types such as Diomedes, Hermes and Jupiter, became particularly popular, remains unclear. In the Roman context, the identity of the deity which the statuary type originally represented in Classical Greece was probably not important.⁵³ Should the viewer be reminded of the use of the body of a particular deity however, it would probably give a heroic air to the subject portrayed.⁵⁴ The main issue was that nudity transported the honorand into the world of heroes. Statuary types of Jupiter alone may have had specific connotations of royalty and supreme power, as these were almost exclusively deployed in representations of the Roman emperor.

Nude body and 'realistic' head: a source of conflict?

Both the Greeks and the Romans combined the nude bodies with time-typical portraits. In Hellenistic nude statuary of kings and athletes there was a certain harmony between the tense body and the idealised portrait head of a young king. The Romans, however, combined young and athletic nude bodies with a more 'realistic' style for the head, which was the portrait style typical of its time. During the Late Republic the time-typical portrait with which the nude honorific body was combined, was of course, that of a mature or elderly man (fig. 125). Greek viewers may

Fig. 125
Statue of a man of mature age represented in the nude wearing only sword belt across the breast and *paludamentum*.
Second half of the first century B.C. Marble.
Height: 2.21 m. Chieti Museum.



have seen a conflict between the youthful body and the mature elderly face; modern viewers have certainly perceived a tension. The apparent contrast between body and head and between the toga which had previously been popular and the naked body type now current, has been interpreted as part of a moral conflict between traditional Republican virtues and the new hellenization of Rome.⁵⁵ Whether a Roman viewer would have seen a conflict between head and body, between Greek and Roman, between old-age and heroic youth, we do not know; but probably not. Firstly, the preserved late Republican nude portrait statues avoid extreme verism. Instead, they deploy a portrait style which owes much to the Hellenistic tradition, for example that on Delos. Secondly, for the Romans the body was primarily a means of displaying the rank and public role of the honorand; for this reason they did not expect that the statue body would have a physical similarity to the body of the person depicted. To the Romans therefore, the tension inherent in these statues did not concern head and body but rather the fact that the naked body was stripped, obviously, of any signs that would indicate rank. The contrast with traditional Roman portrait statuary emphasised the fact that the naked body was an illusion. It was a clear statement of something new, namely the changing role of the leader who was now transported from the real world into the world of illusion and myth. Nudity therefore also suited the new rulers of the Empire, and it remained a mode of representation favoured by emperors into the third century A.D.

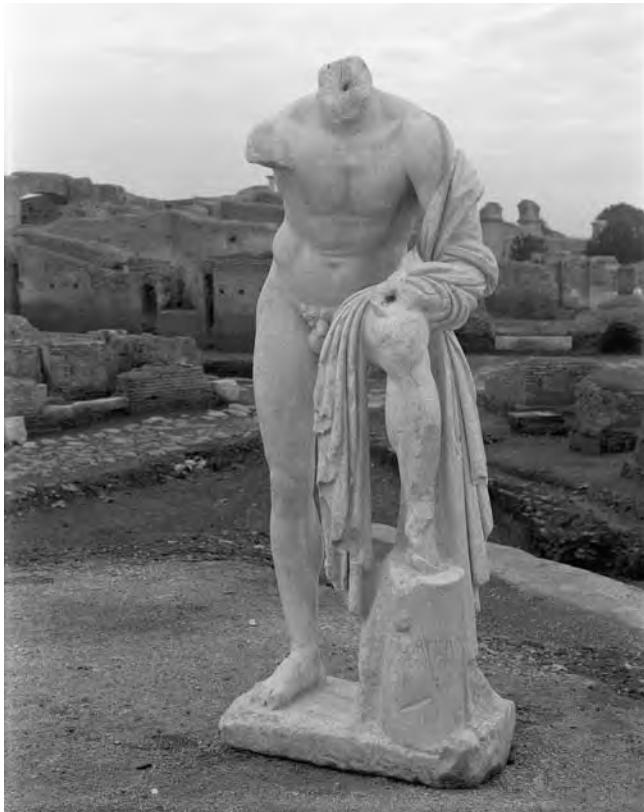
The identity of the honorand

It is possible that a significant number of the Roman merchants, officials, politicians and military leaders who were honoured with statues in the Greek East during the second and first centuries B.C. were represented as nudes. However, because only the statue bases for most of these statues survive, the appearance of the portrait heads and the bodies of these statues of Romans remains a subject of speculation.

From the West, the earliest securely-dated evidence for nude portrait statues is from coins minted between 36-31 B.C., showing a nude Octavian on a *columna rostrata*.⁵⁶ But literary sources indicate that nude representation can be dated to 136 B.C. Further, stylistic criteria indicate that the earliest preserved nude or semi-nude statues from the West date to the early first century B.C. They are thus contemporaneous with the statue of Ofellius on Delos. The purple toga, associated with military honours, was strictly reserved for the triumphant general; the ordinary toga would probably not have been an interesting choice for conveying messages about the military achievements of the honorand. It

Fig. 126

Statue of the duovir
Caius Cartilius Poplicola.
Found in the sanctuary
of Hercules in Ostia.
Third quarter of the first
century B.C. Marble.
Height: 1.95 m. Ostia,
Museo Ostiense.



has therefore been suggested that a series of late Republican portraits representing middle-aged men, slightly over life-size, some of which are preserved with young, heroic naked or semi-naked bodies, may represent late Republican military leaders.⁵⁷ One of these statues, the so-called General from Tivoli found in the substructures of the early first century B.C. temple of Hercules-Victor in Tivoli, wears only a mantle wound around his hips and bunched over the left shoulder. It has a cylindrical Hellenistic-type cuirass as a leg support, and this has led scholars to identify the statue as that of a military leader. In Ostia, Caius Cartilius Poplicola had been duovir twice. He may have had a distinguished military training and we know that he later took up the task of defending the colony of Ostia as well as becoming duovir another six times. In 40/30 B.C. he was honoured with an over life-size statue in the sanctuary of Hercules in Ostia.⁵⁸ Poplicola too is represented in heroic nudity. The head of his statue is missing, but his posture reflects that of the Lysippian Sandal-Binding Hermes, although he probably held a sword in his hand (fig. 126).⁵⁹

The idea that these images of no doubt important Republican political personalities in heroic nudity represent successful military generals is very tempting. Yet, there is very little evidence to support it. Only the statue of Poplicola can be safely identified by inscriptional evidence and none of the eight inscriptions honouring Poplicola in Ostia mentions that he had been honoured with any military distinctions. The cuirass as leg support may simply be a convention taken over from statuary representations of Hellenistic leaders. The sanctuary context is not as common in the West as in the East, as I argued above, and for this reason it is perhaps significant that at least two of the heroic nude over life-size Republican statues, the so-called General from Tivoli and the statue of Poplicola, have been found in sanctuaries. The statues possibly functioned as votives similar to the statue of Ofellius on Delos. One may wonder whether it was not just the statuary iconography but also its location that might reflect Greek practice.

During the imperial period, private citizens are rarely attested in the nude statuary outside a funerary or villa context. One of the five statues honouring the senator Nonius Balbus in Herculaneum and dated to the early Augustan period did, however, show him in the nude.⁶⁰ Examples of private persons depicted as nude, especially in the guise of Diomedes, continue into the third century A.D., but in very small numbers and most are without safe provenance.⁶¹ Antinous was honoured in public in nude statuary types that evoked Liber Pater; he was also depicted as a hunter. The *trophimoi* of Herodes Atticus were also represented in nudity, as hunters, but their statues were displayed in Herodes' private residences. Nudity was therefore not reserved just for the imperial house, except perhaps in the case of Jupiter. However, its usage was very restricted outside the tomb context. It was not a real alternative to the togate statues – produced apparently in ever-declining numbers during the second century A.D.

The cuirass

The final statuary type which must be considered as a possible alternative to the declining numbers of togate statues during the late first and second centuries A.D., is the cuirassed statue the ancient name of which was *statua armata* or *statua habitu militari*.⁶² The cuirassed statue not only had a long tradition in Greek, Etruscan and Roman Republican statuary of deities, in particular Mars, but had also played a role in the representation of mortals. Since the early fourth century B.C. young and prematurely-deceased men were often commemorated wearing the cuirass on tomb reliefs. From the Hellenistic period onwards, the cuirass had also been used in the statuary representation of the living, for both

Hellenistic kings and military leaders.⁶³ In addition it was a ‘real’ costume, which Roman military leaders wore just like the toga. It was heavy – Caracalla had a lighter version constructed of a kind of papier mâché.⁶⁴ Simpler versions such as the scaled cuirass were probably worn on campaign, while the elaborate ones may mainly have been worn for parades. In all three surviving imperial busts in precious metal found in areas with strong military dominance, the emperor wears the scaled cuirass.⁶⁵

Cuirassed statues had a dramatic stance with a strong differentiation between ‘Stand- and Spielbein’, both of which were naked and therefore very visible (fig. 127). This indicated that the patron was either about to step forward or had just been engaged in movement. The raised arm and the lance and sword held in the hand added to the overall impression of drama and action. The Romans used two basic types of cuirass statues, the so-called ‘Classical’ and the ‘Hellenistic’, both drawing on fifth and fourth century B.C. Greek originals. The difference between the two types is most evident in their respective treatment of the lower edge of the cuirass. The Classical type was the one most commonly used for both portrait statuary and representations of deities, for example the famous cult statue of Mars Ultor. It was introduced into the Roman repertoire during the Augustan period. The Classical type had a cuirass with one or two rows of tongue-shaped metal lappets, *pteryges*, hinged on to its lower edge and hanging over the long leather straps of the vest (see figs. 127–128). The lappets were normally decorated with animal protomes such as eagles, elephants, and lions, as well as military equipment. These depictions had either apotropaic meaning or alluded to the power and strength of the patron. The Hellenistic type may have been introduced slightly earlier than the Classical one. It remained in use throughout the Roman period but was never as popular as the Classical. Instead of *pteryges* the Hellenistic type cuirassed statue has a row of short leather straps hanging above the long leather straps of the vest,⁶⁶ as in the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta (see plate 13). Less ornate and elaborate examples of this type had a cylindrical and undecorated cuirass. In contrast, the Classical type cuirass always had an anatomical “muscular” shaped breast and back plate, which was hinged together at the sides and by shoulder straps, *epomydes*.

The cuirass was worn over two undergarments, a short tunic reaching down to just above the knees and a vest of leather with long leather straps at the arm holes and along the lower edge. Over the cuirass a *paludamentum* was worn on the left shoulder or draped across the breast and fastened with a circular *fibula* on the shoulder. The *paludamentum* was occasionally just slung around the hips as a so-called Hüftmantel, as we see in the Hellenistic type statues, for instance the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. The cuirass could also be worn with a sash,



Fig. 127
Second century A.D.
cuirassed statue with
later head. The stance,
the large shield which
works as statue support,
the fur-trimmed boots
and the (missing) lance
all give the figure a dra-
matic and authoritative
expression. Marble.
Tripoli Museum.

cingulum, tied around the waist and with a sword belt, *balteus*. The breast-plate could be left plain but it was often decorated in relief. Some breast-plates even depict complex narratives which allude to specific military victories or events associated with the patron, usually an emperor. The most famous is the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. It is decorated with reference to the return of the standards lost to the Parthians by Crassus. Likewise a statue of Titus in Sabratha illustrates the victory over the Jews in A.D. 71, depicting Jewish captives seated below a date palm tree (figs. 128–130).⁶⁷ The majority of statues deploy a breast decoration

Fig. 128

Headless statue of Titus wearing a cuirass with breastplate adorned with reference to his capture of Judaea. Found in Sabratha in the south exedra of the forum basilica. Marble. Height: 2.49 m
Sabratha Museum.



Fig. 129

Detail of the pteryges of the cuirass of Fig. 128.

Fig. 130

Detail of the breastplate of Fig. 128 showing captives below a date palm tree.



which does not allude to the achievements of any specific emperor or to any event, though. Rather, they tend to signify ideologies which changed over time. Most motifs were not created specifically for the decoration of the cuirass and their meaning is general. The griffins, the most popular, have connotations of revenge. They are protectors of imperial power as well as symbols of eternity. Pairs of Victoriae building a trophy, popular only from the Flavian into the Antonine period, simply symbolize victory. Victoria with the *palladium* resting on the she wolf, seen only from the Hadrianic into the Antonine period, also symbolizes victory; and sea monsters have a general apotropaic meaning. Images of captives who are sometimes identifiable by their costumes, refer to victory and the conquest of the enemies.⁶⁸ The decorative elements changed over time but they all designated victory, glory and security. They pointed to the eternity of the Empire and the pacification of the enemies of the Empire on a very general level. By the late Antonine period however, such decorative variations become less common and the breast is increasingly left plain.⁶⁹ The number of cuirass statues also declined from the late second century. And only a few cuirass statues can be ascribed to the third century except for during the period of the Tetrarchy, when they enjoy a revival. In Late Antiquity, the cuirass therefore appears to have been replaced by the *chlamys* to a large extent. This was the long military cloak similar to the *paludamentum* but of much heavier material, probably thick wool, without any folds and leaving the body almost invisible.⁷⁰

The earliest Romans represented in cuirass

Considering the widespread use of the cuirass costume in the Hellenistic East, it is perhaps not a coincidence that the earliest identified statue of a Roman in cuirass has been found on Delos. This is a statue of the governor C. Billienus; it was set up shortly after 100 B.C.⁷¹ In Rome and Italy, on the other hand, the cuirassed statue was used only very rarely for mortals before the imperial period. Literary sources mention a statue of Horatius Cocles, a hero of the late sixth century B.C., defending Rome against the Etruscan king Lars Porsenna which could still be seen in the Comitium in Rome during the time of Pliny the Elder. It is only in late sources that the statue is described as being armed however. The first reliable evidence for the use of the cuirassed statue in Rome dates to the time of Caesar of whom a cuirassed statue stood in his own forum.⁷²

The Romans conceived of themselves as a military people. But the military leaders of the Republic were apparently not tempted by this ob-

vious mode, which would seem so appropriate for expressing their strength and power. They must have preferred to be represented either in the toga, as discussed above, or more likely in heroic nudity. These were the only body types that were really widespread in the West during the Late Republic. Yet when the duovir M. Holconius Rufus, priest in the cult of Augustus and military tribune, was honoured with a statue at a busy street corner in Pompeii,⁷³ shortly after 2 B.C., he was dressed in full armour in a classical statuary type which reflects the famous cult statue of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus. The statue of Holconius Rufus is the earliest securely dated and identified statue of a private person in cuirass that has been preserved in the West (see fig. 131). The habit was no doubt sparked by imperial representation.

The identity of the honorand

Even though more than 600 Roman cuirassed statues have survived the cuirass was surely not an alternative to the daily use of the toga in the forum of municipal and provincial towns. It also seems unlikely that the cuirassed statues were a serious alternative for the statues set up to honour local officials and benefactors in the squares of these cities. The (unfortunately limited) evidence for the status of those represented in the cuirassed statue,⁷⁴ suggests a use for representation of the imperial family and members of the high elite with military distinctions, real or honorary, such as for example M. Holconius Rufus in Pompeii,⁷⁵ M. Nonius Balbus in Herculaneum or Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus in Ephesus (fig. 131). When a private person was honoured with a cuirass statue in imperial Rome, it must have denoted that person's extreme military achievements. Only some of the heroes from Marcus Aurelius' wars honoured in the Forum of Trajan were represented in cuirass, *statua armata* or *statua habitu militari*.⁷⁶ Accordingly, there is no clear evidence from municipal towns that local benefactors or even decuriones were honoured with cuirass statues. The energetic stance, the attributes held in the hand and the decoration of the cuirass itself made the statuary type an appropriate mode of representation for a successful general; the cuirass' decoration alluded to the eternity of the Empire and military successes attained in protecting it (fig. 132).⁷⁷

In the funerary context, however, the cuirassed statue was used to memorialise members of a wider social spectrum including freedmen. A mid-first century tomb outside the Porta Nocera in Pompeii commemorates a son as well as his freedmen parents. The son is pictured in a cylindrical 'Hellenistic' type cuirass while the father, Marcus Octavius, wears the *toga exiqua* and the mother, Vertia Philuminais, is represented in a Pudicitia pose.⁷⁸



There are more than 600 preserved Roman cuirassed statues, of which many are mere torsos. As the cuirass was also the costume of local mythical heroes and the war god, Mars, who wore it with sandals, helmet and shield, the question of how many of these represent mortals remains an open one.

The toga statue once again

The himation, nude, and cuirassed statuary types which have been discussed could only in part have replaced the toga statue in the public spaces of provincial cities during the second and first half of the third centuries A.D. Epigraphic evidence suggests the second century as the most active and socially diverse period for honorific statue dedications, as I have shown. In the West most of these honorands must have worn

Fig. 131
Monument for Marcus Holconius Rufus discovered outside the Stabian baths in Via dell'Abbondanza in Pompeii.

Fig. 132
Under life-size cuirassed statue with its original head found at Apulum, Alba Julia in modern Romania. It was carved in a local workshop but the iconography follows that found in the centres of the Empire. First half of the third century A.D. Marble. Height: 1.35 m. Sibiu, Museum Brukenthal.

Fig. 133

The copy made by Carlo Albacini of the lost head of the equestrian statue
Fig. 136. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

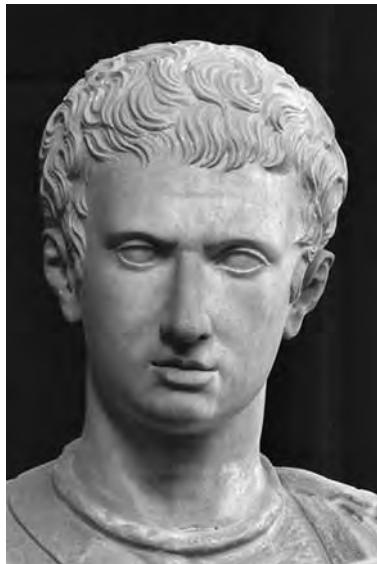


Fig. 134

Right profile of the equestrian statue
Fig. 136. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



the toga. Roman citizens did not appear in public in himation in the West, in the statuary representation at least. In the West the himation was worn in *otium*,⁷⁹ sometimes in the semi-private *scholae*, and by easterners.⁸⁰ Let us therefore return to Goette's catalogue of togate statues and their chronology. The many headless statues, ascribed to the Iulio-Claudian period solely on typological and stylistic grounds, strongly influence our picture of the popularity of the togate statue during that period, but they are perhaps not that easy to date. However, even if we allow a wider time span for the togati ascribed to the Iulio-Claudian era there are still discrepancies between the number of togati that was actually needed and the number being produced during the second century. I would argue that re-use is part of the problem. On the basis of epigraphic evidence it was demonstrated above that there was a serious concern among honorands that, once erected, their statues might quickly be removed from public spaces again. Honorands had various means of

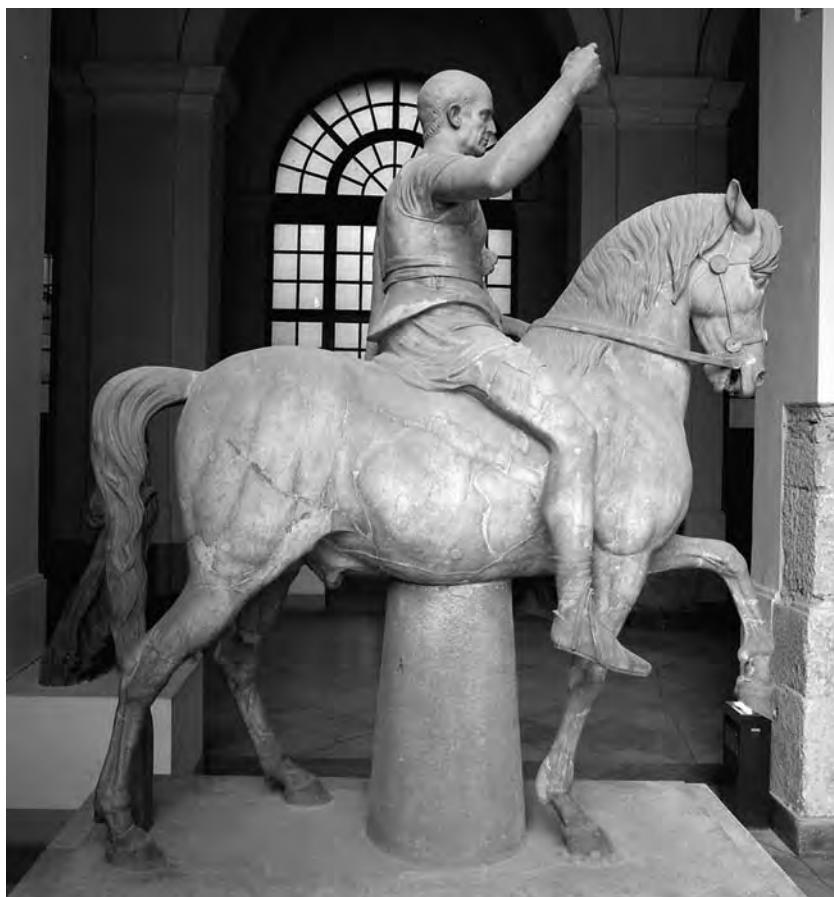


Fig. 135
Right profile of the
equestrian statue Fig. 137.
Naples, Museo
Nazionale.

preventing this from happening but if for some reason an honorand was not successful his statue could be taken away from its prominent position and placed somewhere else. Alternatively, the body could be re-used. Dio Chrysostom (A.D. 40 – after 112 A.D.) worries about the extensive recycling of honorific portrait statue bodies during the second century A.D. And it must be remembered that many togate statues were cut for separately inserted heads, which would make a replacement easy. As the arrangement of drapery on the toga remained fairly uniform few viewers would have noticed that the statue body had had a previous incarnation, even over a longer period of time.⁸¹ It is therefore quite like-

Fig. 136
Equestrian statue
of M. Nonius Balbus
found in the forum of
Herculaneum. Marble.
Height: 2.56 m. Naples,
Museo Nazionale.



ly that the decline in the production of the toga statue during the late first and second century A.D. was not as significant as might first appear: statue bodies were simply given new heads. There is a tendency to consider re-use primarily as a phenomenon of times of crisis and in particular those of Late Antiquity; a portrait of Marcus Aurelius was mounted on a draped female statue recut with a flat breast and *lacinia* between the ankles for example (see fig. 317). In fact, though, rework and re-use of statues was being practised continuously during the Roman period. The best-known and best-documented examples are from the first century A.D. when portraits of Nero and Domitian were recut into portraits of Vespasian, Nerva and Trajan (see figs. 310–311).

In summary, the early imperial togate statue remained popular at least until the second half of the second century A.D. in public settings. It was probably often recycled by being given a new head.



Fig. 137
Equestrian statue
of M. Nonius Balbus
found in the forum of
Herculaneum. Marble.
Height: 2.52 m. Naples,
Museo Nazionale.

The manner in which social groups employed different insignia to define the patron's rank or public office has been discussed. In addition we know that certain statuary types were accessible only to the emperor and to high-ranking senatorial and military officials. Yet the factors that determined the choice of body type for an honorific statue are much more uncertain. Keeping in mind the statuary types awarded to Volusius Saturninus (set up in Rome) we may now turn to the preserved statues of his younger fellow senator M. Nonius Balbus, proconsul of Crete and Cyrene, praetor, patron and benefactor in Herculaneum. No less than 15 inscriptions from Herculaneum honour Balbus and his family. Recent research has suggested that five marble statues and some now lost fragments of a bronze equestrian statue found in different locations in Herculaneum probably all represented Balbus. Furthermore, and just as importantly, these statues can be linked with their respective dedicatory inscriptions. Along with the aristocratic benefactress Plancia Magna from Perge then, the images of Balbus are amongst the best documented images of a so-called private person to be extant; we know about the portrait heads, body formats of his statues, as well as their materials, inscriptions and the locations in which they were erected.⁸² Unfortunately records of the discoveries in Herculaneum that go back to before the mid-18th century Bourbonic excavations are both sparse and ambiguous. However, a number of uncertainties have been overcome: one bronze and two marble equestrian statues were (probably) found in the forum, a marble togatus was discovered in the 'real basilica', and a marble cuirass statue at the site of Balbus' funerary pyre outside the city wall by the suburban baths; all are associated with specific inscriptions. A marble statue from the theatre of Herculaneum is in heroic nudity in the guise of Diomedes; this has tentatively been linked with an inscription for Balbus. While Volusius Saturninus was probably depicted wearing the toga with its appropriate attributes in all the statuary set up in Rome, Balbus in Herculaneum was possibly represented in the three main statuary modes used for men in the Roman West: toga, heroic nudity and cuirass.

The location for Volusius' equestrian statue was the Forum Romanum and Balbus' four equestrian statues were in all probability also set up in the forum in Herculaneum.⁸³ At least three life-size equestrian statues representing Balbus would have stood in the forum and they must have taken up quite a substantial part of that small space. In the two preserved marble statues Balbus wears a cylindrical cuirass and *paludamentum* which perhaps alludes to his position as proconsul with *imperium* (figs. 133–137). But the quiet pose of the horse and Balbus' raised arm, are strikingly non-aggressive, emphasizing his *virtus* and justifying his superior role in Herculaneum. These two preserved equestrian marble

statues of Balbus (Museo Nazionale di Napoli inv. 6104 and 6211) are almost identical, and are so closely related typologically and stylistically that they may be ascribed to the same workshop. The heads of Balbus do not survive. The head on 6104 was destroyed in the late-18th century but was immediately replaced by a modern copy which gives an impression of the style of the original portrait (fig. 133);⁸⁴ the head on 6211 is a modern copy of the head from a toga statue representing either Balbus himself or his father (see fig. 139). The only difference between the two equestrian statues is that they have different dedicants. The Herculaneans dedicated one, while the citizens of Nuceria, Balbus' neighbouring home city, dedicated the other.⁸⁵ These two identical equestrian statues of Balbus illustrate that the mode of representation had to be appropriate but did not need to be innovative or outstanding. Such visual replication highlighted Balbus' importance. It was also a demonstration of the tie that existed between honorand and dedicators. Of the third equestrian statue in bronze found in the forum and set up by the Cretans, only the inscription survives.⁸⁶ Whether Balbus' fourth equestrian statue was also displayed in the forum, remains unknown. It is referred to in the long inscription on his funerary altar as one "to be set up in a busy place" and inscribed "For his outstanding services the citizens of Herculaneum honour M. Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, from the tribe of Menenia, praetor, proconsul, patron". As this inscription does not correspond to any of the inscriptions associated with the three other equestrian statues, it can be assumed that there was a fourth horse. A further inscription honouring Balbus (*CIL* X 1428) was found in 1739 next to an "estatua consular" with "well-preserved head and hands". It derives from a building to the west of Cardo III. It opens out towards the Decumanus Maximus and is now identified as the basilica which Balbus is recorded as having restored, again according to an inscription.⁸⁷ It is obvious from the records that the statue in question is a togatus. Because the find also includes another togatus and a female statue, along with inscriptions honouring Balbus' father and his mother Vicia (CIL X 1439 and CIL X 1440), there is some uncertainty about which family member is represented in which toga statue. The two toga statues in question are Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli inv. 6167 and 6246 (figs. 138, 140).⁸⁸ 6167 is well-preserved with head and hands and shows an elderly man with short-cropped hair, high temples and a grooved flabby chin and neck wearing an imperial voluminous toga but draped in the Republican tradition without *umbo* and wearing simple boots (fig. 139). 6246 has the original? head restored on the body and the hands are also well-preserved. The head shows a younger man with more hair and a fuller face (fig. 141). The statue is draped in an early imperial full toga with *umbo* and he wears senatorial boots. The depiction of age dif-

Fig. 138

Toga statue identified by inscription as depicting the father of M. Nonius Balbus (*CIL X 1439*). Marble. Height: 2.07 m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



Fig. 139

Head of the toga statue
Fig. 138. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

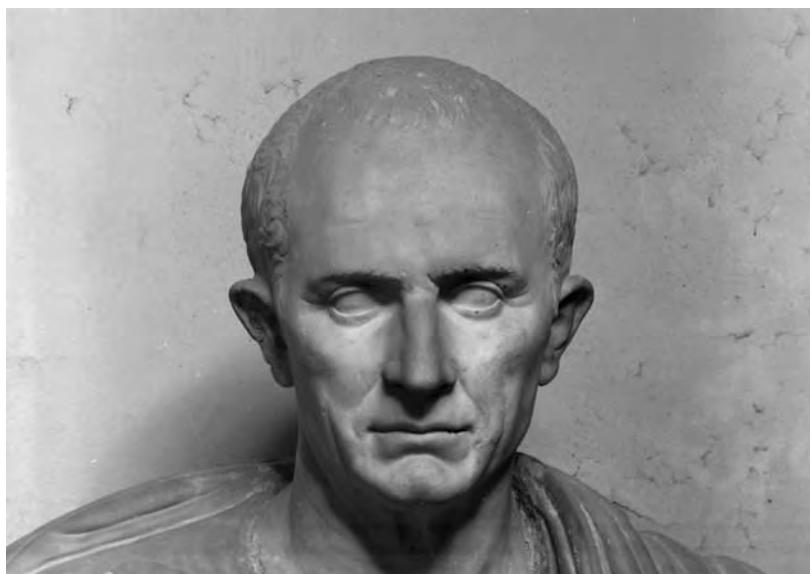




Fig. 140
Toga statue identified by inscription as M. Nonius Balbus (*CIL X* 1428).
Marble. Height: 2.02 m.
Naples,
Museo Nazionale.



Fig. 141
Head of the toga statue
Fig. 140. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

Fig. 142

Statue of a woman identified by inscription (*CIL X 1440*) as Vicia, mother of M. Nonius Balbus. It was found with the two togate statues Figs. 138 and 140. Marble. Height: 2.17 m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



Fig. 143

Detail of the head of the statue of Vicia Fig. 142.



ference in the portraits, the different arrangement of the toga and the different type of footwear make it likely that Balbus himself is represented in the younger person. There is no doubt that the statues formed part of a family group including at least two generations, Balbus and his parents (figs. 142–143).⁸⁹ Even though there is no evidence for Iulio-Claudian imperial portraits from the basilica where the Balbus group was found the discovery of a headless cuirass statue and an inscription set up by a son of Balbus, M. Balbus, in honour of Vespasian (*CIL X* 1420), suggest that statues of the Nonii Balbi were displayed along with statues of the imperial house.⁹⁰

The inscription in the theatre honouring Balbus (*CIL X* 1427), which may have carried a statue, was found at the stage building. As it does not mention the *patronus* title, the Herculaneans must have awarded Balbus the statue before he became *patronus* as was also the case with the horse which they dedicated to him. The impression of a profile head of a marble statue preserved in the fluid lava behind the *scenae frons*, and famous since the 18th century, may be important for the identification of a further statue of Nonius Balbus in Herculaneum (figs. 144–145).⁹¹ The impression matches a statue in Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli inv. 6102 previously thought to have reached Naples via the Farnese Collection in Rome. As the statue with certainty derives from the theatre it may be identical with the finds described by Carl Weber. These include 1. the discovery of a head behind the *scena* and 2. a nude statue body, discovered earlier. The nude statue is in the guise of Diomedes. The head, which has been broken off but joins the body, shows an elderly man with short-cropped curly hair, furrowed forehead and deep nasolabial grooves. The face does not have the high temples and flabby cheeks of the toga statue.⁹² There were apparently no imperial statues in the theatre and Balbus was honoured among local politicians and benefactors. His naked statue stood among equestrian statues and empty bronze *sellae* (one of which was also dedicated to Balbus). The fact that he was represented nude may have highlighted his outstanding personality and his generosity.

When Balbus died, possibly in the last years of the first century B.C. (he became *tribunus plebis* in 32 B.C.) the city of Herculaneum, as a final honour took charge of conducting his funeral and erecting his funerary monument. At the site of his funerary pyre, just outside the city wall and close to the seaside suburban baths, the city erected him an altar marking the *dolium* that contained his remains (figs. 146–148). The altar had a long honorific inscription praising Balbus' outstanding achievements in life as well as listing the posthumous honours bestowed upon him by the city. These included the fourth equestrian statue and a series of orders: the *parentalia*, the processions taking place yearly in

celebration of the dead, should start at his altar; the gymnastic games should be prolonged by a day and a *sella* for him placed in the theatre.⁹³ Behind the altar Balbus' freedman, Volusianus, dedicated him a cuirass statue raised on a high base. Of this monument, the inscribed base, the plinth with the tree trunk statue support and bare feet, part of the torso in a classical type cuirass and the head, survive. The head, which was inserted separately onto the statue and has a deep and wide regular cutting on the forehead, was turned towards the left. It shows a mature man who again has short-cropped curly hair. While the hairstyle shows similarity to that of the naked statue from the theatre, the physiognomic details of the face are quite different. It has large eyes, wrinkles in the forehead that are only just visible, softly modelled moved cheeks and chin with no deep wrinkles. The overall "open" effect indicates that the head from the cuirass statue owes much to the Hellenistic tradition.⁹⁴ The heroic style of the portrait, which recalls portraits of Agrippa and other military leaders, may have been a deliberate choice for a posthumous commemoration.

Fig. 144

Statue of a man in a statuary type which reflects the guise of Diomedes. It matches the impression left in the lava in the theatre in Herculaneum

Fig. 145 and is tentatively identified as M. Nonius Balbus. Marble. Naples, Museo Nazionale.



Fig. 145
Impression left in the lava in the theatre of Herculaneum of the profile of the head of the marble statue Fig. 144.



Just as Balbus himself and his statues had dominated the political sphere in Herculaneum when alive, so his statues dominated the public spaces of the city long after his death.⁹⁵ They were encountered in the city's most prominent buildings and squares. The *parentalia* festival was prolonged by one day in his honour and the processions started at his funerary altar (with a sacrifice?). By erecting a statuary group including the cuirassed portrait statue of Balbus and two sleeping Erotes next to the funerary altar, his freedman transferred the memory of Balbus into the world of myth.

Volusius Saturninus' honours were exceptional because very few persons outside the imperial family were honoured with statues in the public spaces in Rome. The statuary types in which he was honoured were traditional Roman ones and emphasized his political career. He probably wore the toga in all five different statuary types; in only the civilian and priestly role would he have been equal to the emperor. The honours allotted to Balbus, on the other hand, were not exceptional. His many statues made him extremely visible in the small town of Herculaneum but the number of his statues was probably not unusual for a

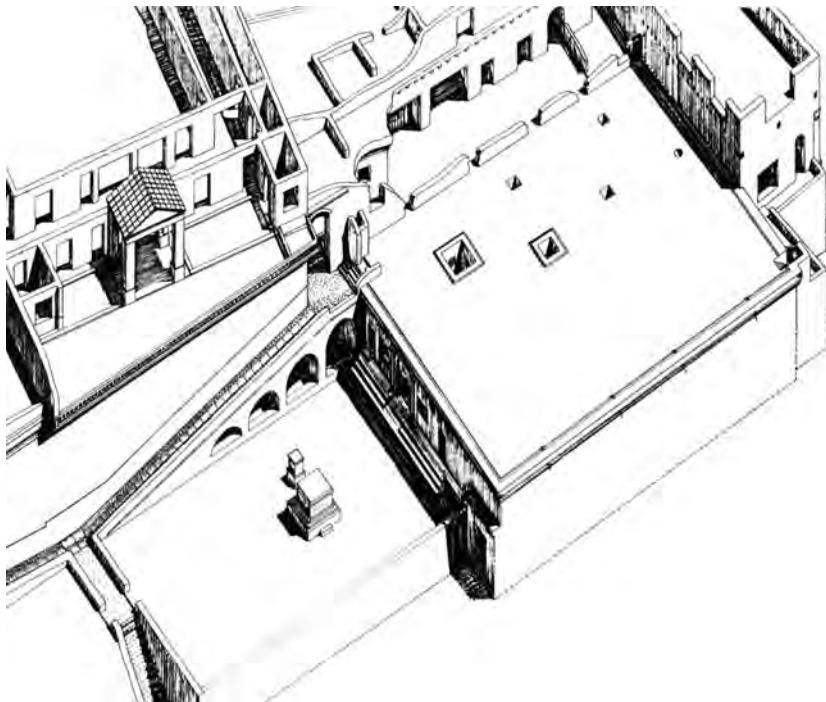


Fig. 146
Cuirass statue of Balbus found with its inscribed base next to his tomb. The inscription informs the viewer that it was erected by Balbus' freedman, Volusianus. Marble. Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompeii.

Fig. 147
Head of the statue of M. Nonius Balbus (Fig. 146). Marble. Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompeii.

Fig. 148

Reconstruction drawing of the funerary monument of M. Nonius Balbus erected by the suburban baths in Herculaneum. The base that carried Balbus' statue (Fig. 146) is seen behind the large altar.



peer in a municipal town. He was represented in all current statuary types suitable for a public setting, all of which were worthy of an emperor.

During the early Augustan period heroic nudity and the cuirass statuary types formats were still quite widespread among private citizens. Their use became much more restricted in the course of the first century A.D. High-ranking civilian and military officials might still be honoured in these privileged types, but probably only outside Rome. Overall though, the bodily statuary representations that dominated the public spaces remained basically constant throughout the Empire until Late Antiquity. The main difference was geographical with the preference for the himation in the East and the toga in the West. Variety prevailed only amongst the few privileged private figures who were honoured in the cuirass and nude formats and in the limited statuary types characteristic of a specific profession.⁹⁶ But what of the substantial number of late first- and second century A.D. free-standing full-figure male and female statues from Rome and the western part of the Empire that were in the guise of different deities and/or had the attributes of a deity? These statues are usually interpreted as deified private persons or as tomb statues in which the characteristics of the dead are assimilated with the strength of the deity.⁹⁷ The original context of only a few of them has been iden-

tified securely; but as more have been found outside a funerary context (including such locations as baths, temples and theatres) than within it, this interpretation needs to be revised.⁹⁸ It is possible that when these statues are found in a public context whether set up when the patron was alive or already dead, they were intended to imitate imperial iconography. However, statues of private individuals in divine guise remain rare in the public context. They do therefore not change the overall picture of the honorific statuary type as a constant factor in Roman society which varied little over the centuries. The honorific statue expressed the values of civility and authority that were part of Rome's own self-representation.



Abbreviated Formats

The full-figure honorific statue was the normative format for Roman portrait images, as has been discussed above. During the late first century B.C., however, new abbreviated formats, which comprised only the head and part of the shoulders of a figure, were developed in Italy. These include the herm, the freestanding bust, the tondo or *clipeus* and the half-figure. Except for the *clipeus*, which had its roots in traditional Republican honours, the abbreviated image may have originated as a format that was simpler, cheaper and more manageable for a variety of contexts than the honorific statue. The freestanding bust soon became a popular portrait format for emperors and private citizens and in a variety of contexts. This was due to several factors. The bust was suitable for display inside tombs and houses. It was also easy to carry in processions. And by placing an emphasis on the head it focused the gaze of the viewer, enabling the patron to express his identity, and the viewer to respond to it.

The herm shaft

The herm format had been employed in representations of deities from Archaic Greece onward, in particular for representations of Hermes. It initially served as a cult image but since then had also been used as a topographical indicator and tomb marker. In Hellenistic Greece the herm is associated above all with the representations in gymnasia of Hermes and young athletes. This latter function of the Greek herm no doubt helped bring about the transformation of its meaning into that of a portrait carrier in the Roman West. As part of the general obsession with Greek luxury, art and culture, herms representing deities and athletes were imported from Greece for decorative display in Roman villas during the Republican period.¹ The full-figure honorific statue, with all its social, political and legal connotations, probably sparked a desire for formats

that took up less room and could be adapted for interior or more intimate spaces. The slim, tall pillar of the herm shaft, usually about 1.35 m high and sometimes with genitals at the front, lifted the portrait head up to about eye level. When the head was cut or cast with the shaft in a single piece a white marble or bronze was the preferred. When the head was set into the herm separately, two different materials were often combined: a bronze head was matched with a white or coloured marble shaft and a white head attached to a coloured marble shaft. Compared to the full-figure statue, which looked its best on a high base, the herm would take up little space in the busy atrium of a Roman house. Evidence that the herm format was used as portrait carrier in Greece is very limited and the earliest examples turn up at the end of the Republican period in Italy.² The portrait herms of Greek philosophers, poets and statesmen, often found together in series, or in galleries, are all of Roman date.³ That the herm began to feature as portrait carrier in Greece, was probably due to encounters with the Italian practice.⁴ It is significant that the portrait herm was used extensively in the East only on the Greek mainland.⁵ Greek visitors to Roman villas and gardens would inevitably have seen the galleries of Greek philosophers and other *illustri* of the past in the herm format – sometimes they were even used as poles in garden fences. The traditional Greek way of representing intellectuals, however, was the seated or standing himation statue. It seems that the herm format became particularly popular in Greece during the second century A.D. especially for representations of intellectuals (figs. 149–150).⁶ These included Herodes Atticus and his *trophimoi*,⁷ but also the *cosmetai*, the officials selected annually who were responsible for the intellectual and physical training of youths in the gymnasium in Athens.⁸ It is possible that the heavily contextualized use of the portrait herm in Greece is a reflection of how the Greeks believed the Romans perceived and represented Greek intellectuals. Some of the herms representing the *trophimoi* of Herodes Atticus combine the Roman portrait function with the traditional Greek function of the herm as a topographical marker and/or as having sacred and apotropaic meaning.⁹ Bearing in mind the prominent role of Greek *paideia* at the court of Hadrian and its reinterpretation in the East, the fact that the use of the portrait herm was restricted to mainland Greece, particularly from the first part of the second century A.D. onwards, makes sense.¹⁰ The Greeks chose a portrait format which they believed reflected the Roman way of representing Greek intellectuals. First and foremost amongst them in doing this was Herodes Atticus, who had close connections with the court at Rome.

When the herm was used for portraits of contemporary figures in the West, it featured almost exclusively in domestic and sanctuary contexts. It has been found in houses in Pompeii and Gaul and in sanctuaries in

Fig. 149

Herm portrait of a man of the late Antonine period found by Thessaloniki.

Marble. Height: 1.88 m.
Thessaloniki Museum.



Fig. 150

Herm of a *cosmetes* identified by its inscription as

Oناسος from Pallene found in the Gymnasium of Diogenes in Athens.

Marble. Height: 1.89 m.
Athens, National Museum.



Campania and Latium, including Rome.¹¹ There is no definite evidence for its appearance in spaces such as fora.¹² Only one herm portrait carries an inscription referring to the usual public approval with DD (*decreto decurionum*) and LD (*locus datus*).¹³ All other portrait herms of which the dedicator is known were set up by private citizens (primarily freedmen and slaves) without any public approval.¹⁴ The social status of the patrons commemorated in the herms, however, was more diverse. Even though there are several examples of the herm being employed to depict freedmen we should not draw excessively hasty conclusions about its particular popularity with that social class. Patrons also include free

citizens and local officials. There is no evidence that the imperial family used the herm format.¹⁵ The high aristocracy did represent themselves in this format however, as a portrait of a Iulio-Claudian woman testifies: this is typologically very close to the portraits of Antonia Maior, and was found next to a herm shaft in the peristyle court of the so-called Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis.¹⁶

The portrait herm may have appeared in Italy during the third quarter of the first century B.C. or slightly later.¹⁷ As most herms are not preserved with their portraits and because datings of the preserved portraits are based on style, it is not possible on the existing evidence to ascertain the precise date of the first appearance of the herm portrait in Italy. Its popularity peaked, it seems, during the first half of the first century A.D. Thereafter it remains in use of *homines illustri* but its popularity declines rapidly for contemporary portraits.

Timothy Motz argues that the freestanding bust does not become common before the late first century A.D. and that the herm was the most frequently used abbreviated format up till that point¹⁸. Motz builds his argument around two different issues: 1. The freestanding bust was used by the lower social classes (especially freedmen) in funerary contexts until the end of the Iulio-Claudian period (see below); the herm format was the abbreviated format preferred by the upper classes, and 2. Drawing on apparently careful technical observations he argues that the vast majority of the preserved Iulio-Claudian marble bust portraits, including those of the emperor and his family, were herm portraits and not free-standing busts, as is usually assumed.¹⁹ While his social designations have no basis in the evidence, Motz is certainly correct in suggesting that a number of Iulio-Claudian portrait busts which are normally interpreted as freestanding may in fact derive from herms. Motz' estimates are excessively exaggerated, however. His arguments, which at first sight seem founded on detailed observations, fall short (plates 34–35). The only truly valid way of approaching the technical issue is by careful analysis of those portrait busts that are preserved with their herms. The best evidence is the group of Claudian herm portraits from Nemi. Most of the portraits have an almost hemispheric underside with a coarsely chiselled surface, which was obviously not intended to be seen. The underside of the larger bust of Staia Quinta is more elegantly shaped than the rest of the herm busts from the group. It has a square bosse which matches the square cutting in the herm shaft but has a coarse surface that has been roughed off with the pointed chisel in the same way as the other Nemi herms.²⁰ The coarse surface on the underside of all the Nemi herm busts is suitable for attaching to another object, and was not intended to be visible (see plate 34).²¹ Three Augustan imperial portrait busts found in the Fayum have breast pieces similar to that of Staia Quinta, but all

Fig. 151

Bust of Tiberius allegedly found in the amphitheatre of Fayum in Egypt. Marble. Height: 0.47 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 152

A cutting similar to that of Staia Quinta with a square bosse is found on an early imperial female bust obviously intended for a herm. Marble. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

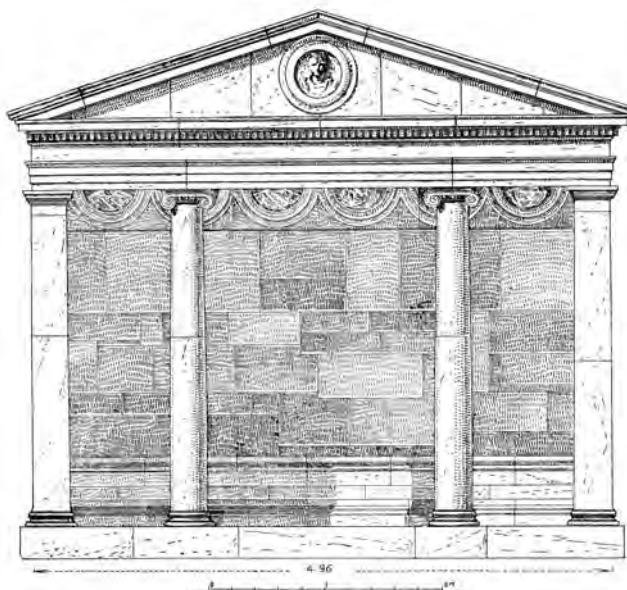


three have carefully finished undersides that were obviously meant to be seen (figs. 151–152).²² But even busts with coarse undersides were not necessarily made for herms. As freestanding busts they could have been displayed in niches in tombs and houses. It must be remembered that Roman portraits were usually specially commissioned with a specific context in mind. It can therefore be concluded that the herm was more common during the Late Republic and first part of the first century A.D. than has often been assumed. Technical evidence attest the popularity of the freestanding bust during that period.²³ In addition, the representation of the freestanding bust on coins minted by Mark Antony in Greece shortly after 40 B.C. which show on the reverse the small bust of his second wife, sister of Augustus, Octavia Minor, as well as numerous representations of busts on early imperial funerary reliefs, support the arguments for the bust's popularity. With no inscribed herms and no securely identified imperial portraits in the herm format, the evidence suggests, at least for now, that the herm was not used by the imperial house. This leaves the freestanding bust as the only alternative.

The clipeus, or tondo

Clipeata imago is a term that features in Pliny the Elder. In modern times it has been used to designate “Anything round with one or more images”.²⁴ But both the definition and the origin of the *clipeata imago* are ambiguous.²⁵ Literary sources describe it as a round shield with an “imago”, meaning head, bust, or just image and not necessarily referring to portraiture. Its origins are probably the Greek tondo and the painted *eikon en hoplon*. Although the earliest examples are from Delos, the combination of a monumental portrait bust of a contemporary figure with a shield-shaped frame referring to victory and courage may be a Roman version. The oldest and most famous shield portraits from Rome were those set up by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus on the Basilica Aemilia in the Roman Forum commemorating his ancestors.²⁶ According to Pliny the Elder shield portraits were also displayed in the atrium of the private homes.²⁷ The shield portrait was awarded during the Republic as a special honour in connection with a triumph. Its heroic connotations were of prime significance in its early form when it featured on public buildings, and resonances of its public role remained when it was transferred to the private sphere.²⁸ The earliest monumental marble shields (diam: 0.8 m) with portrait busts of contemporaries are from Delos, from a building dedicated in 102/1 B.C. in honour of Mithridates Eupator (fig. 153). The building has a 4.3×3 m open niche with two columns carrying a pediment on the front. The pediment is decorated with a

Fig. 153
Heron of Mithridates
Emperor erected
102/1 B.C. on Delos.



shield-shaped tondo which itself contains a bust portrait in relief. The interior of the niche had a frieze of twelve similar shield-shaped tondo busts, six of which were placed on the facing wall. Three more were placed high up on each of the 4.6 m tall side walls. The busts include a large piece of the breast and they are clad either in the *paludamentum* or the cuirass. Even though only one poorly preserved head has survived all of the tondo portraits including the one in the pediment are identified by inscriptions as officers and allies of Mithridates.²⁹ Running along the bottom of the long facing wall was a 0.6 m high bench on top of which was placed a low statue base with the following inscription: 'Mithridates Eupator Dionysos and set up by Helianax, son of the Athenian Asklepiodorus, priest in the cult of Poseidon and in the cult of the Dioscures-Cabires for the Roman and Athenian people'.³⁰ The cuirassed torso and left leg of Mithridates' statue were also found in the building, which may have been a heroon to Mithridates. Much later, the same architectural design was used for the *Templum Augusti* dedicated by *Augustales* to the imperial cult at Misenum (see fig. 37).

From the West, the monumental shields adorning the front of the Basilica Aemilia were dedicated in 74/73 B.C and the tradition is continued in the large tondi (diam: 1.15 m) with half-figure early imperial togati found in the forum at Cumae (see fig. 39). The shield format was also used for representations of the emperor. Miniature shield-shaped portraits of the emperor that adorned the military standards and such

portraits are known in large scale from other contexts (see fig. 318). From an Augustan inscription, it appears that the gilded and painted shield portrait was awarded as a public honour along with portrait statues.³¹ Its use soon became prevalent in the private sphere in paintings and reliefs. It is found in houses in the form of painted decorations high up on murals but it is uncertain whether the heads are portraits (referring to the tradition in the atrium?) in the guise of a deity or representations of deities themselves. The *clipeus* portrait entered funerary iconography in the late first century B.C. In this context it was employed for representing the deceased in relief on panels, altars and on sarcophagi, as we have seen (see plate 12), and it retained these functions during the Christian period. The *clipeus* remained an important portrait format with heroic associations, for both emperors and for private people, well into Late Antiquity.³²

The half-figure bust

The term 'half-figure' refers to the upper part of a figure cut-off at the waist, usually including one or two arms and sculpted in the round. Numerous female half-figures are known from funerary contexts in Palestrina, for example, and from the East in Hellenistic-Roman Cyrene but there is no evidence that they were portraits. Some are even an-



Fig. 154
Half bust of a woman
found in a necropolis in
Cyrene. Limestone.

iconic (fig. 154).³³ Placed on low inscribed bases it looks as if the lower part of their bodies is disappearing into the earth, probably an allusion to the chthonic aspect of Demeter and therefore appropriate as tomb marker. However, these female half-figures have nothing to do with the Roman half-figure busts. When first appearing in relief in the second quarter of the first century B.C. on the earliest examples of the so-called freedmen reliefs, half-figures were probably introduced as a practical and economic alternative to the full-figure statues.³⁴ The earliest free-standing Roman half-figure bust is a Tiberian funerary portrait depicting a certain C. Aurunceius Princeps, in posture and style closely related to the half-figures on the freedmen reliefs.³⁵ Half-figures placed on low rectangular bases continue to be used in funerary reliefs, but as fully sculpted figures they remain rare, except for a number of late second- and early third-century high-quality male and female busts of which the Commodus in the Capitoline Museums is the most conspicuous.³⁶ These are, however, hollowed out at the back and are most probably better understood as a further step in the development of the large bust, discussed below.

The freestanding bust

Origin

The freestanding bust is the quintessential Roman portrait format.³⁷ There is no Latin term for the bust format but epigraphic evidence suggests that it was usually referred to as *imago*.³⁸ The bust consists of a fully sculpted head, either inserted into the naturally modelled shoulder and chest or cut from the same piece of stone. The chest is hollowed out at the back, which has a thick support cut from the same piece of stone.³⁹ The bust usually rests on a tall cylindrical moulded bust-foot, which is again either cut from the same piece of stone as the bust or (more often) separately attached by a dowel. When the latter is the case, the bust-foot has almost always been lost. Between the lower edge of the chest-piece and the bust-foot there may be a small name-plate, *tabula*, which is usually (on ancient busts) cut from the same piece of stone as the bust.⁴⁰ Its function is, in principle, for the inscription of the patron's name, but more importantly, it lifts the bust elegantly off the foot (fig. 155). The name-plate is often elaborately moulded and may have a double volute at either end, referring to the pelta-shaped shield. In rare cases it is decorated with a figural relief scene, indicating that its function was aesthetic, or at least became so.⁴¹

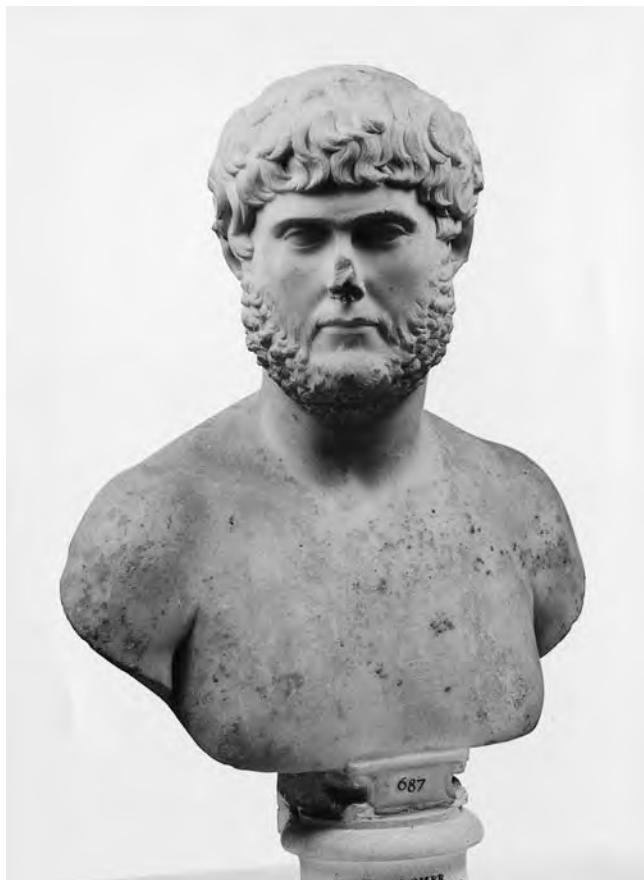


Fig. 155a and b
Bust of a man of the Hadrianic period. The bust is hollowed out at the back with an elegantly curved bust support which runs into the name-plate. The bust-foot is modern. Marble. Height: 0.58 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

The first safely dated evidence for the existence of the freestanding bust is the coin type mentioned above. This coin was illustrated with the bust of Octavia Minor and was struck shortly after 40 B.C. In contrast to previous coin portraits, which were cut off in a more or less straight line at the base of the neck, the coins of Octavia show her profile head with a very small bust-piece including a draped section of the shoulder and breast.⁴² There can therefore be no doubt that the free-standing bust had found its way into the repertoire of Roman portrait formats during the third quarter of the first century B.C. Theories about the origin of the freestanding bust are divided into those that derive it from the Greek tradition, and those that derive it from the Italic, as we might expect.⁴³ Those scholars who believe in a Greek origin see the bust as developing from the decorative Hellenistic tondo bust. However, not only is the tondo bust bound to the background of the relief but it usually has a large breast piece. The tondo bust therefore cannot account for the gradual increase in size that the Roman bust under-

Fig. 155b



goes. Two large male busts from the so-called Maison des Sceaux on Delos which are cut off right below the breast and truncated from full statues, resting on a low plinth and dated before 69 B.C., cannot help us either to account for the elegantly curved shape and gradually increasing size of the Roman bust.⁴⁴ It appears that neither the tondo bust nor the truncated Delian busts nor any other Greek statuary format can be regarded as a predecessor for the Roman bust. A number of theories have been proposed for an Italic origin. Some scholars see the bust as originating in the traditional Italic funerary *cippus* topped with a more or less sculpted head (fig. 156). Others believe that it developed from the *clipeus* or represented the transformation of the ancestral mask of wax into a more durable material in bust shape. Still others argue that the bronze bust of the herm may have been the starting point for the Roman bust.⁴⁵ The *clipeus*, like the Hellenistic tondo discussed above, seems unlikely as an origin for this format because it is bound to the relief and has from its early appearance a large bust-



Fig. 156
Funerary *cippus* commemorating Rutilia Victoria. On the top of the *cippus* is a female head surrounded by a pinecone and pomegranate. Limestone. Narni, Municipio.

piece. It therefore cannot account for the gradually increasing size of the freestanding bust (see below). The Italic funerary *cippus* topped with a head known from both Campania and Latium might seem to be a possible inspiration. However, the characteristics of the Roman freestanding bust are its elegant, curvaceous shape and its thin walls, recalling the bronze busts on the herms. It would have required only the addition of a foot to create the fully developed freestanding bust out of the herm bust. The herm is therefore also a possible origin for the freestanding bust.

Distribution and display of the freestanding bust

While the origin of the freestanding bust may remain uncertain there is no doubt that it quickly became a very popular portrait format for private citizens as well as for the imperial family and in a variety of contexts. The honorific statue satisfied the need for representation in pub-

Figs. 157–158

Two mid-Antonine female busts illustrating how elegantly the name-plate lifts the bust off from the bust-foot. Marble. Height: 0.74 m. Petworth House. Marble. Height: 0.76 m. Rome, Museo Capitolino.



lic and the bust did the same for the domestic and funerary sphere, as well as for more intimate public occasions. It was easy to display in a niche, on a shelf or on a marble table. It was manageable and could be moved around to suit the decorative and ideological scheme of a property. The bust was also well suited for mobile representations of the emperor, especially when made of bronze (or silver or gold). In this form the image of the emperor was paraded through the city in religious processions. But even in the large country estates of the aristocracy the preferred portrait format was the bust (and herm), probably because it emphasized the personal qualities of the patron rather than his status and public offices.⁴⁶ But it also richly enhanced the popular niche-architecture. An example of this is preserved in the villa of Herodes Atticus by the monastery Luku near Eua, west of Astros in Arcadia. It easily ac-



Figs. 158

commodated large-scale full-figure idealized statuary,⁴⁷ but for portrait representations the bust was preferred. The popularity of the bust from the late first and early second centuries A.D. coincides in trichology with the emergence of very sophisticated luxurious male hairstyles; in statuary formats it coincides with the fully developed, impressive large bust, with its elegant high profiled foot and name-plate. It is significant that the so-called Dezennalientypus portrait of Trajan is the first safely-attested imperial portrait type to have been conceived with the bust as an integrated part of the model. Coins and sculpted portraits show Trajan in his so-called Dezennalientypus portrait: his head is combined with the same large type of bust depicting him with bare breast, a *paludamentum* and sword belt (see figs. 323, 328). There can therefore be no doubt that the bust was an integrated part of the model or prototype.⁴⁸

Fig. 159

Detail of a late fourth century A.D. sarcophagus showing the (false) adoration of a bust of Nebukadnezzar which is placed on a low column. Marble. Total length: 2,07 m. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale P. Orsi.



The popularity in Rome of the bust format for representing both the emperor and private citizens had a significant impact on the use of the bust in the provinces. By the late first century A.D. the freestanding bust format had spread across the Empire. Although it was subjected to both technical and aesthetic variations in different areas its extensive popularity evoked associations of sophisticated metropolitan Rome (figs. 157–158).⁴⁹

In contrast with the herm, which could ‘stand on its own’ and bear a dedicatory inscription, the bust obviously needed to be lifted off the ground. As it could only hold a very brief inscription in small letters on the *tabula* or running around the foot,⁵⁰ it was best appreciated close-up at eye-level. Busts have been found in both public and private contexts but little is known about exactly how they were displayed. The modern viewer is accustomed to contemplate a Roman bust at eye-level on a truncated column or pillar. There is evidence from Pompeii that painted and sculpted *pinaces* were placed on top of small columns in the peristyle courts of houses, but evidence for a similar display of portrait

busts is scant.⁵¹ Further, column and portrait could easily get separated both physically and in interpretation of the archaeological remains. In the context of scenes depicting the true and false adoration, a number of late fourth-century A.D. sarcophagi do boast the portrait bust of a pagan king placed on a column at eye-level (as example of the false adoration!). This suggests to us that it is not unlikely that the practice of placing a bust on a low column did exist (figs. 159–160).⁵² Evidence for the exhibition of busts on large bases of the same type as those that carried the full-size portrait statues does exist; but this certainly does not seem to have been a common way of displaying busts (see figs. 58–59 and 216–217).⁵³ Bases in miniature may have supported both statuettes and busts;⁵⁴ the latter may be seen on a late Severan sarcophagus.⁵⁵ Like statues they may however have been mounted on top of high columns, but probably only very rarely,⁵⁶ and the famous portrait of Eutropios was mounted in the bust form on a console on one of the columns in the colonnaded street.⁵⁷ Many portrait busts are less carefully finished on the back just like the full-size statues. A common way of displaying them must have been to put them on a wall bracket or in a niche. The niche is a decorative feature that is found extensively in imperial-period architecture – in *nymphaeae*, baths, theatres, the back wall of colonnaded squares or streets, villas, and tombs. In the villa of Herodes Atticus at Luku, busts of Herodes and his family have been found in a long room south of the so-called Representation Basilica, which was probably a library.⁵⁸ Busts of the imperial family, including Hadrian and Commodus were found in the west-basilica,⁵⁹ but it is likely that they were common in many other contexts with niche walls in that villa. A large number of sculptures seem to have fallen around the garden *peristyle*, in particular in front of the niche-wall retaining the *nymphaeum* basin.



Fig. 160
Strigilis sarcophagus
 showing a married couple
 represented in large half-
 figure busts resting
 on bases. Marble.
 Length: 2.13 m. Rome,
 Museo Nazionale
 Romano, Terme di
 Diocleziano.

A number of these were busts, and include representations of several emperors and one of Herodes himself (see figs. 59 and 217).⁶⁰ On the necropolis of the Isola Sacra at Ostia many tombs are furnished with niches that are only about 1m high and it is probable that portrait busts found in the tombs were displayed in these niches.⁶¹ Similarly, low niches adorning other types of buildings may have been designed for displaying busts.⁶² Busts may also have been exhibited on a bench or shelf against a back wall.⁶³ An important alternative mode of displaying busts may simply have been to place them on a marble table.⁶⁴ Werner Eck has drawn attention to a number of marble legs, *trapezophora* which have dedicatory inscriptions. While the possibility that the tables themselves were dedications cannot be excluded, it is much more likely that the inscriptions refer to the patron of a bust placed on the tabletop.⁶⁵ Marble tables, usually about 1 m high including base, legs and top, have been found in abundance in all sorts of spaces. Painted *Stillleben* show that tables were sometimes laid with silver or objects which might be needed in a cult, for example. But the elaborate decorative carvings and the solidity of the tables make them highly suitable for holding relatively heavy busts. The fact that in Pompeii marble tables were found in atria – the traditional place in which to keep the ancestral portraits – may support this (see fig. 52).⁶⁶

Development and iconography of the bust

The breast-piece increased gradually in size and the breast muscles gradually became more strongly modelled. In its early form the bust included only a small section of the collarbones, but it later incorporated the full breast and the forearms. This development took place over a period of ca. 150 years, from the first appearance of the bust in around 40 B.C. until the Hadrianic period when it reached its maximum size in the portraits of Antinous. Busts of Antinous include the pectorals, a strip of the chest wall and the upper part of the arms, which are cut off into stumps. The maximum width of the bust is across the arms (fig. 161).⁶⁷ During the late second and early third centuries A.D. two new bust shapes appear. One is the so-called half-figure which comprises the upper part of the body above the waistline usually including both arms as the above-mentioned bust of Commodus testifies. A number of these half-figure busts hold an object in one or both hands (fig. 164).⁶⁸ The other new bust shape is much smaller and does not include the arm stumps. First seen in imperial portraiture during the reign of Caracalla, its maximum width is across the shoulders. From here it tapers sharply in and cuts off the lower part of the breast (fig. 165). The new bust

types are indicative of a desire for variety but the half-figure bust may also have taken over some of the functions which were previously associated with the full-figure honorific statue as we shall see.⁶⁹

Until the Trajanic period, both the bust and bust support rested directly on the bust-foot. The bust-foot could also be omitted, and the bust-support would then function as a base for the bust.⁷⁰ In the latter case there was a space between the lower edge of the breast-piece and the support.⁷¹ This space may be the origin of the *tabula*, which first appeared as a profiled panel during the Trajanic period. (Compare for example the different Late Hadrianic bust-feet on busts from the tomb of the Manilii (figs. 74–77). The fully developed *tabula* with double volutes at either end is not seen until the Hadrianic period, however.⁷² Around the same time, that is during the early second century A.D., the high, elegant profiled cylindrical foot becomes popular in the West: the bust has reached its normative form. This version of the bust is about 70–80cm. high (those representing the emperor usually even higher) and more than twice as big as busts in the Late Republic. It has become much more impressive and monumental in its own right. The large bust piece offered the possibility of articulating basic aspects of the patron's actual or constructed social role but it also offered the possibility of experimenting with unique and highly individual iconography.⁷³

This general line of development of the bust is often employed as a criterion for dating, but local variations and personal preferences call for caution.⁷⁴ Multiple examples demonstrate that a linear development in the size of the bust was often ignored.⁷⁵

Busts of Roman women usually show their costumes arranged in a way that is unknown in full-figure statues. In contrast, male busts were normally represented in the same costumes as the full-figure portrait statues; but there were iconographic and chronological differences. Most notable are the frequent deployment of the bare breast during the first and second centuries A.D. and the rarity of the toga in male busts until the late second and third centuries A.D. This stands in contrast to what we have seen in full-figure statuary.

During the first century A.D. most male busts in both the East and the West were nude (fig. 163).⁷⁶ The popularity of the naked bust during the first century A.D. may have a simple explanation. It seems to have represented the continuation of the small naked chest-piece used for insertion into statues and herms, and it is likely that only when the bust had reached a certain size did a more programmatic representation become relevant. This may have been the case during the Trajanic period when a sword belt was portrayed swung across the chest and a *paludamentum* was added on the left shoulder. This bust type was first seen under Domitian, but its popularity among private citizens is

Fig. 161

Over life-size bust of Antinous in foliage. Marble. Height (excluding foot): 1m. Vatican Museums, Sala Rotonda.



Fig. 162

Mid-third century A.D. portrait of a man represented with nude breast.

Marble. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini.



Fig. 163

Nude male bust. Late first to early second century A.D. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

Marble. Height: 0.48 m.





Fig. 164
Half-figure bust of a man with short-cropped hair and a beard. He wears a tunica and perhaps a large mantle. First to second quarter of the third century A.D. Marble.
Height: 0.9 m.
Chatsworth House.



Fig. 165
Small wide bust of Caracalla. Marble.
Height: 0.6 m. Naples,
Museo Nazionale.

Fig. 166
Third century A.D portrait of a man represented in a bust form with *paludamentum* and sword belt slung across the shoulder first seen in the late first century A.D. Marble.
Rome, Banca d'Italia, Via Nazionale.

no doubt due to its currency in representations of Trajan.⁷⁷ The combination of military attributes and the naked breast was a reference to the heroic world of deities. It emphasized the masculinity and strength of the patron (fig. 166). The naked bust and, to a lesser extent, the half-naked bust with the *paludamentum* and occasionally divine attributes continued to be popular for representations of private citizens in the third century.⁷⁸ In its large form it must have made a clear statement about the patron's heroic character (fig. 162). Emperors also continued to be represented in the nude bust, with *paludamentum* and/or sword belt or with divine attributes, most notably the *aegis* alluding to Jupiter during the whole third century A.D. There is a clear drop in its frequency after Trajan.⁷⁹

Emperors from Hadrian and into Late Antiquity normally preferred the cuirass bust. There are only isolated examples of emperors in cuirass from the Tiberian period (fig. 167).⁸⁰ Hadrian is frequently portrayed in the cuirass, and one of his portrait types, the so-called Imperatori 32 was probably conceived as such.⁸¹ The Antonine emperors by far preferred the cuirass. A number of busts show them in a scaled cuirass, which was worn in battle and not just during parades (fig. 168).⁸² They are also frequently depicted in a new type of large *paludamentum*, trimmed with an ostentatious fringe, which was worn either over a cuirass and tunica, or simply just over a tunica (fig. 169).⁸³ Full-figure cuirassed statues usually do not deploy this type of large fringed *paludamentum*, and it may have been introduced into the bust repertoire because of its decorative fringe and because it covered the undergarment almost entirely.⁸⁴ Among Antonine emperors the popularity of cuirassed statues and busts, of which the scaled type even refers directly to the personal praetorian guard of the emperor, is not easily explained. With their sophisticated hairstyles Antonine imperial portraits are usually interpreted as expressing urban civility as opposed to the military *virtus* supposedly transmitted in portraits of some earlier emperors (in particular Trajan).⁸⁵ The cuirassed format, which evoked associations of military superiority like no other garb, thus stands in contrast to the portrait head itself. It may be that this contrast was a conscious choice, denoting the Antonine emperors' concern for *civilitas*, which was in turn dependent on the army (fig. 170).

The cuirass and *paludamentum* remains a frequently used costume for imperial busts into Late Antiquity. Private individuals were depicted in the cuirass but not very often, it seems.⁸⁶ Because of the clearly defined neckline of the tunica on the cuirass bust, it was ideal for the cutting of a hole in which the head would be separately inserted; and for this reason numerous busts have lost their original heads.⁸⁷ Many of the large cuirass busts from old collections adorning museum galleries are modern. It is



Fig. 167
Bust of Caligula wearing cuirass. Marble.
Height: 0.51 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 169
Bust of Antoninus Pius wearing cuirass and fringe-trimmed *paludamentum*. Marble. Rome, Galleria Colonna.

Fig. 170
Cuirassed bust of Commodus. The long carefully styled hair and beard, express sophistication and civilian values. *Civilitas* is contrasted by a preference for the wearing of the cuirass and *paludamentum*. Marble. Rome, Banca d'Italia, Via Nazionale.

the most frequently copied Roman statuary style because it was popular for the ‘twelve emperor galleries’ in the 17th and 18th centuries. Although it is usually possible to distinguish between ancient and modern busts, the large number of modern busts restored with ancient heads still makes it difficult to gain an overall impression of the popularity of the cuirass bust. The extent to which private citizens were represented in the cuirass

Fig. 171a-f

Three pairs? of busts in miniature showing three men and three women. The portraits are almost identical, suggesting that the same couple is represented in all three pairs. The drapery and the size of the bust piece of both the female and male figures is varied however and shows the manner in which busts might exhibit variation and meaning. From Asia Minor and part of the so-called Jonah Marble Find. Third to fourth quarter of the third century A.D. Marble. Height: between 0.32 and 0.33 m. Cleveland Museum of Art.





Fig. 171e, f

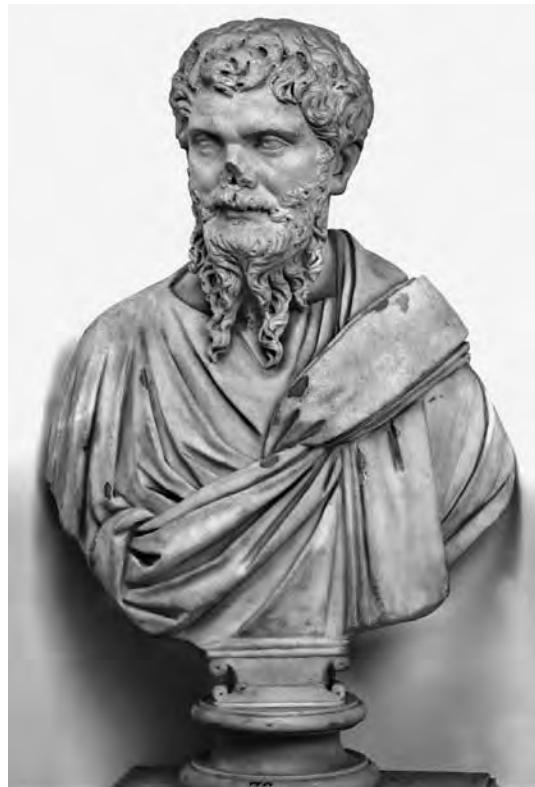
bust form therefore remains an open question. The bust which omits the cuirass, and is dressed in the tunica and a large *paludamentum*, was probably less programmatic than the proper cuirassed bust and was very common among private citizens, in particular during the first half of the third century (fig. 171).⁸⁸ Towards the end of the third century a similar costume is seen in busts of the Tetrarchians but the swallow-tail folds indicating the edge of the *paludamentum* are missing and it is obviously the long thick *chlamys* that is represented (fig. 172 and plate 38d).⁸⁹

Equally popular with the wearing of the cuirass and *paludamentum* became the *toga contabulata*.⁹⁰ The toga, which was the costume most frequently represented on full-figure statues in the West, is rare in the bust format during the first and second centuries A.D. Private citizens wear it occasionally and the trend increases during the second part of the second century A.D., but busts of Septimius Severus give us the earliest imperial busts wearing the toga (fig. 173).⁹¹ The sudden ubiquity of the toga bust was connected with a novel arrangement of the drapery which affected mainly the upper part of the body. The formal wide stacked series of folds running across the breast, allowed for elaborate painted decoration and gilding, and was probably a major reason for its popularity (fig. 174). That the decorative aspect of the contabulated toga as important for its popularity in the bust format is further supported by a number of third century A.D. female busts which boast decorative ornamental borders or ribbons arranged across the breast, similar to the stacked bands of the male toga (see fig. 171f).⁹² It should not be over-



Fig. 172
Bust of a man wearing the heavy late antique chlamys. Found at the city gate in Stratoneikeia in Asia Minor. Probably fifth century A.D. Marble. Height: 0.72 m. Bodrum Museum.

Fig. 173
Septimius Severus is the first emperor to be represented in toga in the bust format. He wears the new so-called contabulated style toga with stacked folds. Marble. Height (total including restored foot): 0.88 m. Petworth House.



looked however that its popularity coincides with a general decline among public honorands during the middle of the third century A.D., and also with a restricted use of the *toga contabulata* in public, as this was now probably only worn by the highest officials. These two factors may have encouraged a wide use of the *toga contabulata* in the bust format for private contexts and on funerary monuments, with the purpose of alluding to public office.⁹³ The lid of a sarcophagus just inside the Porta Romana in Ostia shows a married couple reclining; the busts of two small boys, probably the couple's sons, are depicted on either end of the lid. With its undefined folds it is not at all clear what type of costume the father wears but it is certainly not the characteristic *toga contabulata*.

In contrast, both of the small busts of the sons clearly wear a toga with a huge stacked fold running across the chest, obviously the *toga contabulata*. In this context the *toga contabulata* may be interpreted as anticipating the future career of the sons as public office holders. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, the sons may have died before their parents and their portraits have been included in the epitaph as a symbol of their lost opportunities caused by their premature death (figs. 175–176).



Fig. 174
Bust of Severus Alexander
wearing stacked toga.
Marble. Height: 0.76 m.
Rome, Museo Capitolino.

The himation bust enjoyed great popularity from the beginning of the second century A.D. onwards.⁹⁴ Numerous busts from both the East and the West show the subject portrayed in a himation worn either over a chiton or with naked breast (fig. 177). When worn over a tunica the himation encircled the shoulders completely and constrained the right arm, which was held close to the breast and was often visible under the drapery (figs. 178–179). It was just as often worn with the breast bare and during the third century A.D. the patron may even have a stubbly beard and short-cropped hair (fig. 180). I have mentioned above that in full figure statues the himation was usually worn with a tunica. The naked breast signalled affinities with representations of Greek philosophers and with *paideia* in a much more direct way than the wearing of the beard. In the full figure statuary format the naked breast may therefore

Fig. 175

Lid from a sarcophagus with reclining couple and two boys in contabulated togas. Marble. Ostia by Porta Romana.



Fig. 176

Portrait bust of a man in the late antique so-called eastern toga introduced some time during the fourth century A.D. Found in the baths of Scholastikia in Ephesus. Mid-fifth century A.D. Marble. Height: 0.69 m. Selçk Museum.



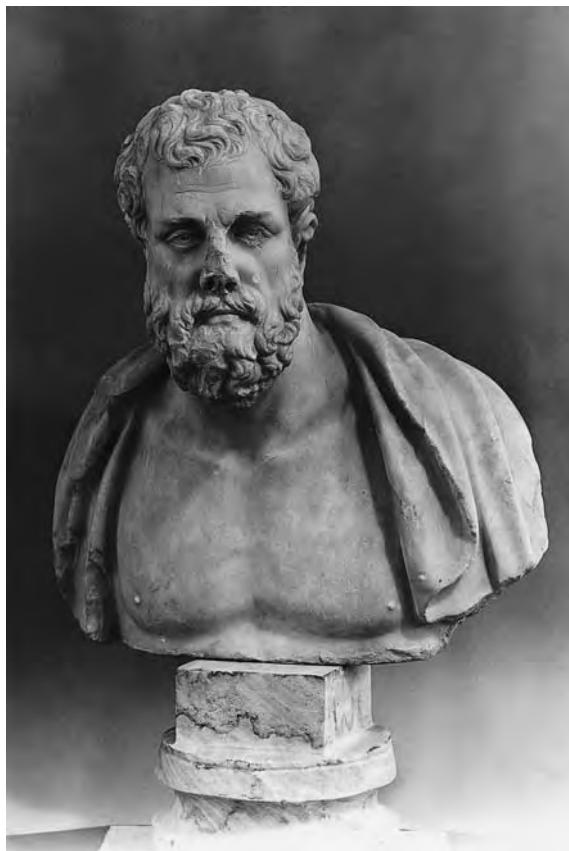
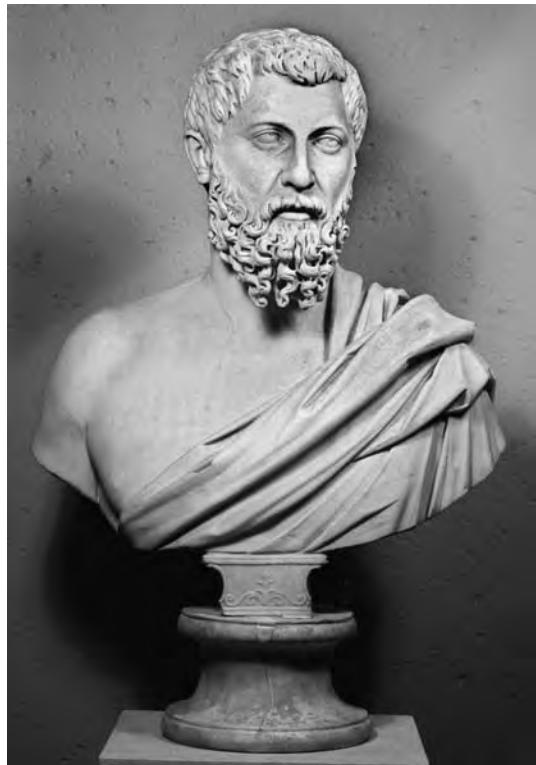
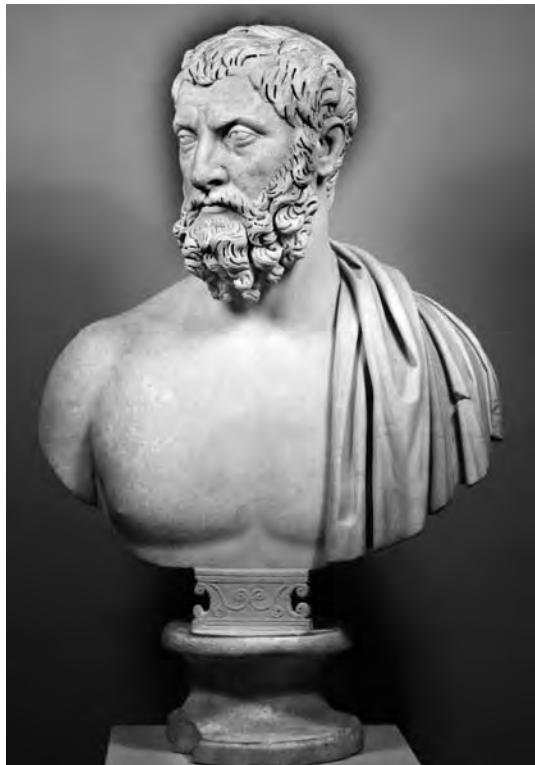


Fig. 177
Portrait bust of a bearded Greek of the mid-second century A.D., wearing the himation and with a nude breast. Marble. Height: 0.48 m. Thessaloniki Museum.

have been a feature that was too closely associated with Greek philosophers to be feasible for public settings in cities of the Roman Empire.⁹⁵

The drapery on busts of Roman women changed as the breast piece became larger. Between the late first century B.C. and the late first century A.D. women are usually depicted wearing a thin tunica buttoned on both shoulders, either as their sole garment or with a *stola* on top (see fig. 283). Variation is seen in the neckline, in the thickness of the material of the tunica, and (not least) in how much of the woman's shoulder is revealed. A number of busts show the tunica slipping down from one shoulder, alluding to the beauty and sensuality of Venus.⁹⁶ Contrary to men however Roman women were never depicted nude in the bust format.⁹⁷ Between the Flavian and Trajanic periods the size of the bust increases. Its shape becomes slightly triangulated towards the base but now includes the woman's breasts. The *stola* disappears but the tunica is almost always worn with a large mantle, *pallium*. This could be draped over one shoulder or around both (fig. 181). The *pallium* could also be twisted into a bundle, which ran across the breast towards



Figs. 178–179
Two busts which seem to represent the same individual of the Severan period probably found in the baths of Diana in Smyrna.

They both have nude breast but wear the himation in different ways.

Marble. Height: 0.83 m.
and 0.8 m Brussels,
Musée Royaux d'Art et
d'Histoire.

the left shoulder.⁹⁸ Variation was given to this form in the quality of the material and in the details of the arrangement, but the bust could also accommodate references to a specific event in the life of the patroness. This is evident in a Hadrianic bust which bears a representation of Victoria on the breast (fig. 182).⁹⁹ During the Hadrianic period when the breast piece had reached its maximum size a new bust style appeared, and this remained by far the dominant type into the Severan period. The mantle now encircles the bust completely, and is twisted into a loose bundle of folds, which runs along the lower edge of the busts (figs. 157–158). Such arrangements of drapery could be varied to suit both very large busts and busts of more moderate size. This type of female bust often has an overall oval shape brought about by the flow of the *pallium*. During the early third century A.D. new ways of draping the bust and new bust sizes appeared. Firstly, some busts became very large. On these the mantle is sometimes knotted below the breasts in a big decorative bow (fig. 183);¹⁰⁰ but so-called half-figures which included both hands are also seen (fig. 184).¹⁰¹ Yet other busts were draped in a heavy mantle, which crossed the whole breast up onto the left shoulder leaving the tunica visible only around the neckline.¹⁰² Others boasted

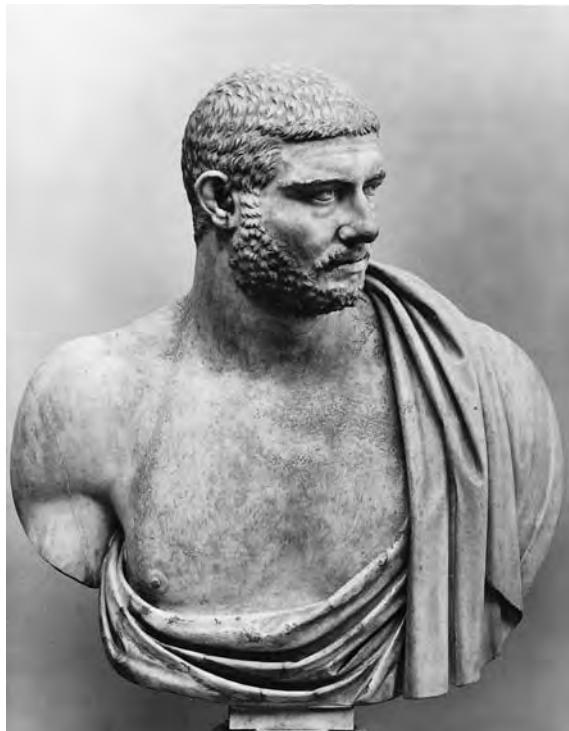


Fig. 180
Portrait bust of a man
with short-cropped 'mili-
tary' hair and beard wear-
ing Greek himation with
nude breast. Marble.
Munich, Glyptothek.

decorative borders arranged like the male contabulated toga as seen above (fig. 171e). Aside from the *stola*, which was worn on busts of the late first century B.C. and first centuries B.C. and A.D., and was a garment that gave definite indications of its owner's status, the arrangement of drapery on busts does not correspond to that known from (full-figure) statuary types of Roman women.¹⁰³ One may therefore wonder whether the costumes represented in busts reflect the 'real' costumes worn by Roman women more closely than those of full-figure statuary. This latter was always draped in 'unreal' costumes taken over from those worn in representations of Greek goddesses.

The freestanding bust was not as frequently deployed during the Julio-Claudian period as has previously been assumed; the fact that the herm shaft was exceedingly common in Pompeii and Herculaneum supports this. It gained in popularity only gradually during the middle and second half of the first century A.D. After that the freestanding bust became not just the dominant form of abbreviated image but could feature in place of the full-figure statue in various contexts. The considerable number of *toga contabulata* busts and the numerous private citizens represented in large *paludamentum* busts or with heroically bared breasts, leave us in no doubt that the habit of the bust had metaphor-

Fig. 181

Female bust of the late Hadrianic period wearing tunica and *pallium* draped around both shoulders.
Marble. Height: 0.51 m.
Vatican Museums,
Galleria Chiaramonti.



Fig. 182

Bust of a woman with a depiction of Victoria on her tunica. It may refer to her being the successful winner of a competition.
Marble. Height: 0.65 m.
Paris, Louvre.





Fig. 183
Bust of woman (the head of Julia Domna may not belong) wearing her *pallium* knotted below her breasts in a big bow. First half of the third century A.D. Marble. Height (without foot): 0.74 m. Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo 92.

ic, symbolic and aesthetic value rather than marking social and legal status. Even busts of the emperor and the empress exhibit chronological developments, preferences, and for the empress, iconographies, that are different from what can be observed in their full-figure representations. The period between the second half of the second century and into the first half of the third century A.D. sees the heyday of the free-standing bust. By the mid-second century it had developed into a form that was imposing and monumental in its own right. A small *tabula* lifted it off from its high and elegantly-moulded foot; and the large breast piece offered multiple and diverse opportunities for adding meaning to the portrait head. Late second century A.D. busts evince almost endless variety in the pose of the head, in the type, arrangement and execution of drapery, in the size of the breast piece, in the shape of the nameplate, in the height and profiling of the foot, and in the angle at which the bust is raised up from the foot. A number of busts from this period

Fig. 184

Portrait of a woman of the Severan period with large half-figure bust. Found in the late Antique villa at Chiragan. Marble. Height: 0.65 m. Toulouse, Musée Saint-Raymond.



are tilted backwards slightly, which imposes a degree of distance between image and viewer. Others in turn stand at an oblique angle or are tilted slightly forwards, giving the viewer an impression of intimacy with the image. Marble resources and techniques in sculpting had reached their peak during this time, resulting in the carving of sophisticated hairstyles and thin, elegantly curved bust pieces, which were carried on small nameplates cut free. The enormous variety in large busts and the occasional addition perhaps of an object carried in the hand, certainly suggests that the bust took over the function of the honorific statue.¹⁰⁴ The number of Late Severan so-called half-figure busts that are hollowed out at the back and include one or both hands (which probably held an object) should not be considered as truncated full-figure statues but rather, as having developed from the large bust form. Seen in the light of the gradual decline of the public honorific statue, the bust represented a change in trends (figs. 185–186). This change may in part have been economically conditioned – the bust being cheaper to produce than the



full-figure statue – but it rather seems that interest was now focussed on establishing intimate contexts and a more immediate contact with the viewer. The increasing popularity of the bust format is an expression of the shift in the concerns of representation, from public honours that were expressed in full-figure honorific statues to a more direct contact between image and viewer. The development of the bust shape into a large, elegant breast piece which would accommodate sophisticated iconography placed further emphasis on the communication of personal desires and preferences in statuary art.

Fig. 185
Half-figure bust of Gordian III wearing cuirass with *cingulum* and *paludamentum*. The bust includes both arms (the left hand is a restoration).
Marble. Height: 0.77 m.
Paris, Louvre.

Fig. 186
Rear side of Fig. 185 showing the hollowed out bust piece and bust support.

Selves and Others: Ways of Expressing Identity in the Roman Male Portrait



The key issues to have emerged in the earlier analysis of the wider context of portrait inscriptions are the importance of public honour, visibility and of perpetuation through representation. The shaping of communal memory was also a central motivating force in dedicating honorific statues. We have seen that geographic differences, particular chronological developments and the social status or public role of the honorand influenced the choice of costumes. Options for expressing variation, personal style and identity in statuary formats were, however, limited. All these factors will be kept in mind in the following chapter, which will outline the basic trends in Roman male portraiture.

Greek or Roman? The origin of Roman Republican portrait styles

The definition of a portrait as a likeness showing individual characteristics, which will make the image of a particular person recognisable, is valid for both Greek and Roman portraiture. From the fourth century B.C. on, the Greeks commemorated local aristocrats, politicians, military leaders and royals with honorific statues. There remains little doubt that the Romans took over the practice of dedicating honorific statues from the Greeks and used Greek models for some of their most significant statuary formats. It is much more difficult to explain why Republican Romans developed a strong notion for expressing verism, strong physiognomy and old age in their portraits (figs. 187–196). Portraits commemorating Greek philosophers, honorific portraiture of Hellenistic kings and of important citizens found in second century B.C. Delos, are strongly bound by the aesthetic norms and conventions of pathos, style and proportions, in spite of their apparent realism. The emergence of extreme realism and detailed depiction of physiognomy (whether constructed or real)¹ in Roman portraiture in the late Republican era is there-

fore neither easily explained in terms of stylistic continuity, nor can it be seen as a development of a preference for realism from the Hellenistic period.² Luca Giuliani described verism and the reduced attention to pathos in Republican portraits as stemming from a special Roman liking for old age and *gravitas*, *moderatio* and *constantia*, which found expression in realism in Roman portraiture. R.R.R. Smith, in contrast, interpreted such realism as a means of opposing Greek and Roman ideologies; it articulated Roman identity. Jeremy Tanner, on the other hand, has argued that verism evolved in the Greek East during the second century B.C. as a mode of articulating the relationship between Roman patrons and Greek clients. According to Tanner verism does not reflect values that are specifically Roman, so much as those values that help to express the relationship of patronage.³ Although these explanations may account in part for the phenomenon they are not entirely satisfactory. Tanner's study, in particular, raises a number of problems. Firstly, the use of the title *patronus* which is crucial to Tanner's argument, is not securely attested in the East before the very end of the second century or the beginning of the first century B.C.⁴ Secondly, it seems clear that the practice of honouring Roman officials was more common in the East than in the West during the second century.⁵ The lack of any evidence for early togati in the East suggests that heroic nudity or the cuirass, both typical Hellenistic statuary formats, were the preferred body modes for statues. However, we do not know whether the portraits of Romans in these typical Greek statuary formats showed verism and strongly depicted physiognomies or whether they were more closely linked to the Hellenistic tradition. Thirdly, we cannot date the origin of Roman verism. Evidence for a securely attested chronology is lacking until the late second and early first centuries B.C.⁶ Extreme verisimilitude is characteristic of the very late Republican and even the early Augustan period.⁷ Fourthly, detailed verism in portraiture and the praise of old age as a personal experience that brought with it the qualifications necessary in an effective holder of office, seems to be a phenomenon most characteristic not of the Roman East but of the West.

One other aspect of the Republican portrait needs to be further explored.⁸ Before the first century B.C. the practice of dedicating statues in Italy was concentrated in Rome and considered to be amongst the highest of public honours, as I discussed above. The evidence we have for honorific statuary in Rome before the late second century is primarily literary and dwells on the highest officials such as consuls and military victors. In Italic municipia the portrait does not figure widely before the late first century B.C., coinciding chronologically with the expression of extreme verism in portrait heads. In Italic cities stiff competition immediately arose among local politicians and benefactors for

Fig. 187

Head of a man found on the so-called Agora of the Italians on Delos. Late second to early first century B.C. Marble. Height: c.49 m. Delos Museum.



the award of an honorific statue. It is logical to relate the spread of the dedicating of honorific statues, and the competition among politicians in Rome, and among benefactors and local office-holders in Italic municipia, to the development of extreme verism in portraiture.⁹ The tradition of expressing strong physiognomy was already a well-known phenomenon since the introduction in the third century B.C. of the ancestral masks among the metropolitan Roman aristocracy. These masks were carried in processions by actors who resembled the deceased in stature and gesture and they were intended to recall and draw attention to a famous individual. The physiognomy of such masks and that of the Roman veristic portrait was directed against the Other. It distinguished one individual from another and strengthened the identity and visibility of the self. From physiognomic treatises and the writings of Plutarch and



Fig. 188
Head of a man most probably from Rome.
Second half of the first century B.C. Marble.
Height: 0.27 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Cicero for example, it is evident that the Roman viewer was trained in analysing individual parts of a face and interpreted details of the face as expression of the character of the person represented, though in very general terms. Verism, as it found expression during the very late Republican period with wrinkles, warts, crow's feet, and not least baldness and the high importance placed on old age, may therefore have been of specific relevance in a period of strong competition for political power and self-positioning between individuals. This changed dramatically with the introduction of imperial rulership. The first princeps was youthful with an idealized facial expression and an emphasis on the carefully styled hair. Hair could be cut, trimmed, curled, straightened and dyed and it was more an expression of lifestyle than of personal character. The last thing imperial rulership needed was for influential private citizens to stand out against the emperor. Even though competition for political power and honour continued in municipal and provincial cities throughout the Early and Middle Empire the widely disseminated courtly image became such a powerful phenomenon that it was more important for

Fig. 189
Head of a man found in
the so-called House of
Diadumenos on Delos.
Late second to early first
century B.C. Marble.
Height: 0.47 m.
Delos Museum.



Fig. 190
Head of a man found in
the so-called House of
Diadumenos on Delos.
Late second to early first
century B.C. Marble.
Height: 0.48 m.
Delos Museum.



Fig. 191
Head of a man found by
the so-called Granite
Monument on Delos.
Late second to early first
century B.C. Marble.
Height: 0.32 m.
Delos Museum.



Fig. 192
Head of a man found on
Delos. Late second to
early first century B.C.
Marble. Height: c.44 m.
Delos Museum.



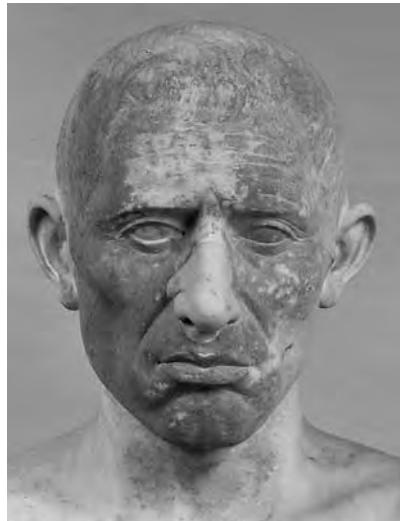
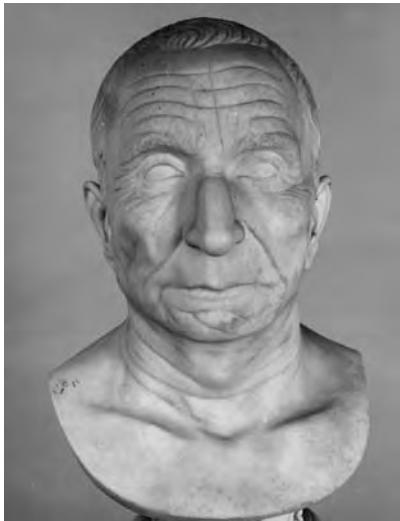


Fig. 193
Head of a man probably from Rome. Second half of the first century B.C.
Marble. Height (excluding foot): 0.35 m.
Vatican Museums,
Galleria Chiaramonti.

Fig. 194
Head of a man probably from Rome. Second half of the first century B.C.
Marble. Height: 0.47 m.
Vatican Museums,
Galleria Chiaramonti.

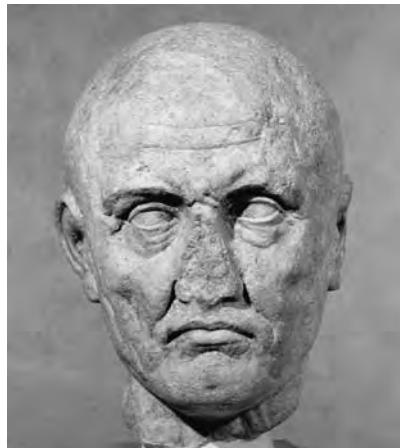
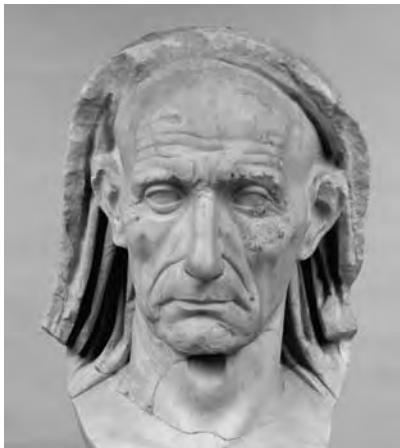


Fig. 195
Head of a man most likely from Rome.
Second half of the first century B.C. Marble.
Height: 0.6m.
Vatican Museums,
Galleria Chiaramonti.

Fig. 196
Head of a man probably from Rome. Second half of the first century B.C.
Marble. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini.

Fig. 197

Life masks in plaster of Ole Andreas Olsen at the age of seventy-five. The toothless mouth, furrowed and sagging cheeks, wrinkled forehead and folds of loose skin surrounding the eyes feature both in the life masks and the Republican heads; the baldness links them even closer together.



private individuals to be styled accordingly than to stand out. Characteristic physiognomy remained an important factor in Roman male portraiture during the imperial period. Verism and strongly-drawn physiognomy in portraits were not confined to the Republican era, but the depiction of short thin hair with a receding hairline and baldness, made the verism of the Republic more emphatic. In later Roman (and earlier Hellenistic) portraiture and indeed in almost all portraits until the mid-third century A.D. verism was softened and obscured because it was combined with sophisticated hairstyles and/or a beard. Hair draw attention away from the physiognomy of the face (fig. 197 and plate 38a).¹⁰

From the Early Empire onward hair became a much more important element in the portrait image. Hairstyles increased the possibilities for expressing aspects of social identity. These might range from showing off one's wealth through hairstyles which figured luxury and opulence; using the style to indicate one's (cultural) identity by emphasizing tradition, innovation or conformity; or adopting a hairstyle which depicted individual traits like (for instance) daring or wildness (fig. 198). These attributes were difficult to express in physiognomy or costumes. According to the ancient authors, a man should not pay too much attention to his hair, because he risked being judged as effeminate. Nevertheless, military leaders of the Late Republic, like Pompey, followed by the young Octavian, styled their hair in a vivid manner with hair brushed up above the forehead, an allusion to the Hellenistic kings, which stressed the heroic position of the new leaders. From the very beginning of imperial rulership the styling of the emperor's hair became a key facet of his public

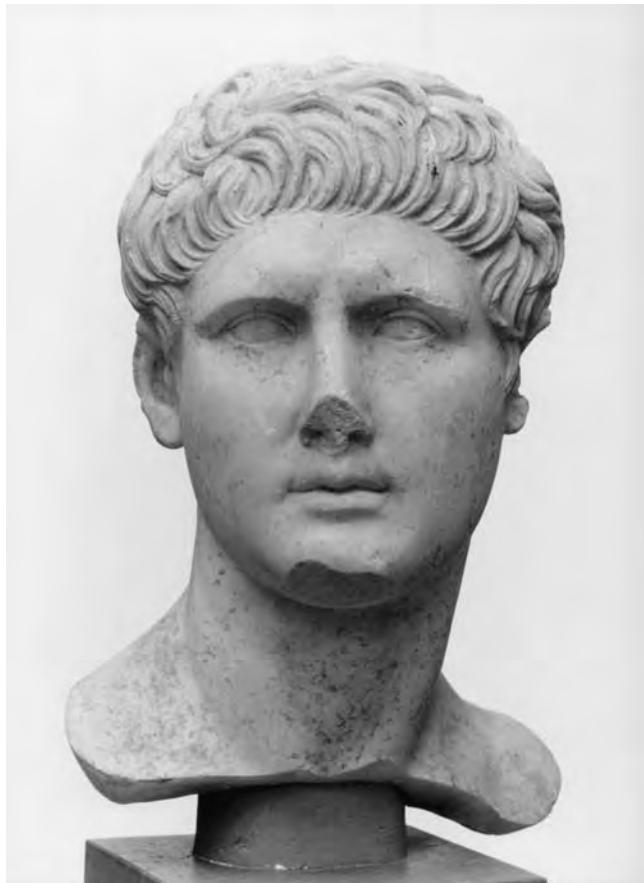


Fig. 198
Head of a young man
with elegant luxurious
hairstyle. Neronian.
Marble. Height: 0.39.
Copenhagen, Ny Carls-
berg Glyptotek.

image. A dashing change of hairstyle created variety and introduced the possibility of highlighting particular interests. With the wide dissemination of the imperial portrait the complex arrangement of the emperor's hair especially of the frontal locks became a distinctive and recognizable element in its typology. It also made visual distinction between imperial and private portraits easy for the viewer.

A major obstacle in interpreting Republican portraiture and the role of verism is the lack of adequate information about the contexts, dates and identifications of most of the portraits. In spite of this dearth of evidence however, studies like that of Giuliani have established a sophisticated framework for interpreting the range of styles current in male portraits during the Republican period.¹¹ Trends in contemporary rhetoric played an important role in society and an awareness of this has helped to explain the prominence of specific trends of styling within the large bulk of apparently veristic and very individualized portraits that are extant. We are now better able to understand how these por-

traits interacted with their viewers. Thus, in the bald, grim, toothless, wrinkled, dry, mask-like faces of the Late Republic we can perceive the values of *gravitas* and *severitas* behind the apparent visual honesty. This style was suitable for representing members of the aristocratic political and literary elite. Alternatively, the Hellenistic-influenced treatment of age involving the portrayal of a strong turn of the head, dynamic mimics, sensitively modelled skin and voluminous hairstyles is found in a number of portraits also of the Late Republic. This can be interpreted as an expression of the military *virtus*, heroic achievements and prime position of a successful general.

The ‘period-face’ and its impact

For the dating of private portraits of the imperial period we are on much safer ground due to the well-established chronology of imperial coins. The obverse of the coins, showed profile portraits of the reigning emperor accompanied by inscriptions mentioning his many and usually datable titles. Such numismatic representations form the basis for identifying and dating sculpted portrait types of the emperor. These in turn form the basis for dating portraits of private citizens.¹² Imperial portraits have frequently been interpreted within the framework of ancient biographies. They have been interpreted not on the basis of descriptions of the appearance or character of the emperor but as articulating the virtues and concerns, which ancient authors and legends on coins attest for his reign. Thus, the ageless and classically proportioned image of Augustus is interpreted as showing the expression of a worthy leader who had re-established the *res publica* and created the *pax romana*. On the other hand the plump face and the carefully arranged long hairstyle of Nero are seen as indicating his love of luxury. The naked *paludamentum* busts and harsh hairstyles of Trajan allude to his military *virtus* and (specifically) to his successful conquest of the Dacians. The bearded portraits of Hadrian are believed to refer to his philhellenism and intellectualism; while the short-cropped hairstyles and gruff facial expressions of Caracalla are seen as pointing to the newly significant role of the army. The geometrically constructed face and heavily outlined eyes of the Tetrarchs, who can only be distinguished from each other with great difficulty, if at all, can be seen as expressions of the well-organized administration and *concordia* of the new four men’s rule. We saw above how imperial leadership had very little impact on the dress code of Roman men and women. Not so in the case of the portrait head itself.

In their portrait heads, Roman men and women styled themselves on the emperor and empress – in the pose of the head, in the arrangement



Fig. 199
Portraits of Lucius Caesar? Found in Aquileia.
Marble. Height: 0.5 m.
Aquileia, Museo Archeologico.

Fig. 200
Portrait of Caius Caesar?
Marble. Height: 0.31 m.
Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano.



Fig. 201
Head of the young Geta.
Marble. Height (including modern restorations):
0.73 m. Vatican
Museums, Galleria
Chiaramonti

Fig. 202
Bust of the young
Caracalla. Marble.
Height: 0.6 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

of hair and beard, in facial expression, and even in physiognomy. Private portraits are therefore usually described and interpreted with regard to the main trends that were current in imperial portraiture. Two German terms aptly describe the phenomenon of this similarity between portraits of the emperor and of his kinsmen and between portraits of the emperor and portraits of private individuals: ‘Bildnisangleichung’ or ‘image assimilation’ and ‘Zeitgesicht’ or ‘period-face’. These terms and the analysis that accompanies them also point towards how this phenomenon might best be interpreted.

First the ‘Bildnisangleichung’, or ‘assimilation’. The term was coined by A.-K. Massner in 1982 in her work on the impact of the portrait of

Fig. 203

Portraits of rulers of the first Tetrarchy, Constantius I and Maximianus. Their portraits are almost identical making any distinction between the two purposely impossible.

Porphyry. Venice, in front of the basilica of St. Marcus.



Augustus on images representing members of the Iulio-Claudian dynasty. She defined 'assimilation' as the deliberate repetition of iconic formal or physiognomic details of the portraits of Augustus in portraits of other members of the Iulio-Claudian dynasty. In this context it had the deliberate purpose of evoking associations of kinship. Massner saw 'Bildnisangleichung' as a phenomenon relevant to the court only. Contrary to the 'period-face', family members might in their portraits imitate or even repeat the typological details of their relatives' portrait types so closely that it was hardly possible to see the difference. This can be observed, for example, in the portraits of Caius and Lucius Caesar and the young Caracalla and Geta (figs. 199–202). Both pairs of brothers were published *en pair* in their images, just as they acted together in politics. Their (almost) identical mode of representation was a very conscious choice in order to secure the succession of the dynasty. Their images



Fig. 204
Head of Nero in bronze
with gilding. Previously
in the Axel Guttmann
Collection. Present
whereabouts unknown.

emphasized the *concordia* within the family because there was a good chance that one of the brothers would survive to take power. Much later, the same deliberate choice of similar identities was made by the Tetrarchs in order to express the *concordia* of the unified rulership of the four men's rule in the new governmental organization of Diocletian, as mentioned above (fig. 203).

The 'Zeitgesicht' or 'period face', like the 'Bildnisangleichung', also mimics details in the imperial portrait. Rather than referring to implied familial similarities, the term designates the relationship between the portrait of the emperor and images of the men he ruled. It was Paul Zanker who first systematically described and defined the so-called 'Zeitgesicht' in 1982. Zanker saw this phenomenon as being closely associated with



Fig. 205
Head of Hadrian in the
so-called Stazione Termini-type. Houghton Hall.

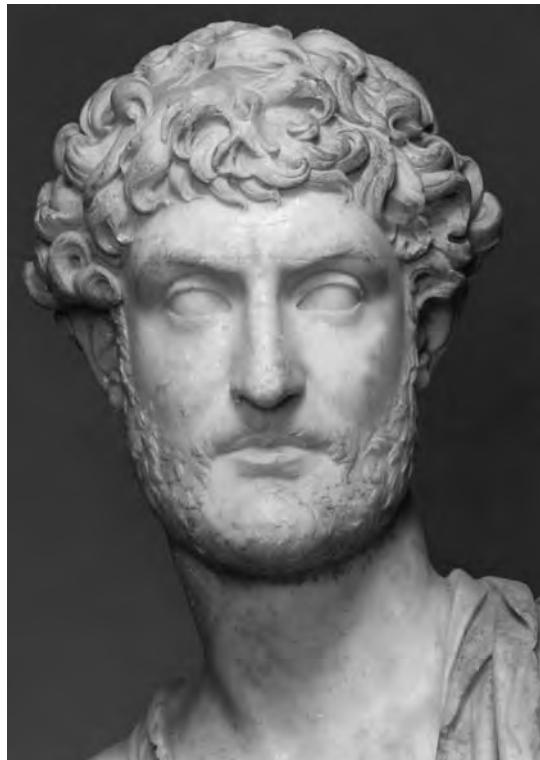


Fig. 206
Detail of head. Private
people styled themselves
similarly to but never
identical to the emperor.
Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie.

the Roman emperor and with the publicising of the imperial portrait across the Empire: "Bei der festen pyramidalen Struktur der umfassend verwalteten kaiserlichen Massengesellschaft war der Kaiser die einzige allen gemeinsame Bezugsperson".¹³ Zanker argues that by the mid-Augustan period the imperial image, which itself was ideologically styled, had become the icon to which private citizens across the Empire related in their own portraits. Furthermore, he argues that the impact of the imperial portrait was enormous not just on the portraits of the elite but also on portraits of the lower social classes, for instance freedmen in Rome and beyond. A good example of the strong impact of the imperial portrait on the styling in portraits of private citizens from very different social classes is found in the period from A.D. 50–70. During this time, imperial portraiture changed dramatically.¹⁴ Nero's predecessor Claudius wore short hair and had a bony face. However, in the latest portrait types of Nero (dated to around A.D. 59), a completely new style appeared. It shows Nero with a soft, fat face, hair that is long, carefully crimped and combed deeply onto the forehead. This image has been interpreted as portraying Nero's love of luxury (fig. 204).¹⁵ At his acces-



Fig. 207
Bust of a man of mature age in contabulated toga.
In spite of his age he is styled after the youth portrait of Caracalla.
Marble. Height: 0.62 m.
Berlin, Altes Museum.

sion in A.D. 69 however, Nero's successor Vespasian again appeared in a radically different portrait style, showing the new emperor with a wrinkled and toothless face and an almost bald head. The re-direction of portrait style in the images of Vespasian can be viewed as a visual reaction against Neronian luxury. Private citizens, from the senatorial aristocracy to freedmen, immediately copied these new representations. Tacitus, who was critical of the ostentatious lifestyles pursued during the reign of Nero, considered Vespasian to be responsible for the new modest (and to Tacitus positive) way of life, and he remarks on the fact that private citizens followed the example of the new emperor. Although Tacitus does not specifically mention portraiture he is discussing modes of representation, both in appearance and dining habits (*antiquo ipse cultu victusque*):

But the main promoter of the stricter code was Vespasian, himself of the old school in his person and table. Thenceforward, deference to the sovereign and the love of emulating him proved more powerful than legal sanctions and deterrents.¹⁶

Private citizens followed the ideologies and styles of the emperor, and Petra Cain's study on Neronian and Flavian private male portraits demonstrates how great the impact of imperial images was. This also shows that the agreement between the imperial portrait type and portraits of



Fig. 208

Head of a youth styled with long hair and traditionally interpreted as a portrait of a real person. Found in the theatre of Dionysos in Athens. Mid-second century A.D. Marble. Athens, National Museum.



Fig. 209

Bust of a youth identified by its inscription as Olganos, the eponyme hero of the river by the same name. Hadrianic period. Found in ancient Macedonia near Anō-Kopanos. Height: 0.76. Marble. Veria Museum.

private individuals was never so precise that it becomes impossible to distinguish between the two.¹⁷ The portraits of the emperor had their own distinct typologies, which were reflected in images of private citizens, but which were never copied exactly (figs. 205–207).¹⁸ A portrait of a Roman man has its own character, its own specific details of hair and/or physiognomy, which set it apart not just from images of the emperor, but from any other portrait. Effectively, the portrait represented the patron as a unique individual.

There are exceptions however. Some heads, styled as period faces of youths but without a significant personal physiognomy, may represent a personification or *genius* of a particular people or local mythical hero. Without an identifying statue body and inscription, we cannot know whether we confront an individual or a deity, as these statuary types were displayed in the same contexts as the honorific statue (the forum, the theatre for instance), and blended in with them.¹⁹ This may also be the case with victorious athletes, as we saw above. The substantial number of preserved inscriptions commemorating athletes, along with the apparent lack of actual sculptural representations, suggests that an idealized head (and of course body), in the classical Greek tradition of representing athletes was considered appropriate. Without the inscription which would identify the statue, modern scholars are likely to interpret it as ‘idealising’ statuary.²⁰ To the ancient viewer, though, the inscription would clarify these issues. A group of portraits from the second century A.D. represents such a case. They are characterized by long opulent hairstyles of high carving quality. The hair is brushed up over the forehead and they have variously been interpreted as 1. ethnic representations of Gallic or eastern (barbarian) aristocrats, 2. an international upper class which modelled itself on Alexander the Great with his iconic hairstyles, or 3. a reflection of a general heroic representation.²¹ Very often only an inscription can clarify whether the subject is in fact a portrait or a personification (figs. 208–209).²²

Some formal or technical trends followed a more or less autonomous chronological evolution: the size of the bust developed from being very small in the Julio-Claudian period, when it depicted only the collar-bones of the body, to its maximum size in the late Hadrianic period when it included the upper part of the arms and the whole breast area. The use of the drill to carve hair and beard became gradually more extensive, culminating in its prevalence in the Antonine period. The plastic representation of iris and pupils appeared tentatively during the early Hadrianic period and became extremely pronounced and abstract in the late third century. The basic expressions of the portrait head did not follow such evolutions, however. The apparently veristic personal expression was therefore styled within a contextual package of period-specific

fashions. The imperial portrait may not necessarily have been the instigator of these but it certainly had a multiplying effect. While some trends in Republican portraiture may be interpreted as period specific, the period face was basically a phenomenon of the imperial period with its impact inevitably connected to the success of the imperial image. In relation to this phenomenon, two important questions arise: 1. How was it possible that private citizens followed the portrait style of the emperor across the entire Empire, and 2. Why did the portraits of private men always differ slightly from the portrait types of the emperor?

Both questions can, I believe, be answered by an exploration of the role of the sculptural workshops that produced the portraits. The portraits of the emperor, displayed across the city of Rome on the coinage and in the forum of any major provincial city, were no doubt an inspiration for the styling of the portrait image of private citizens. The impact of the 'period-face' in terms of close imitation of the imperial image in private portraits is most likely to have gained its currency because the same local workshops produced both imperial and private portraits. The second century A.D. inscription from Clusium mentioned above commemorated the portrait painter Aurelius Felicianus as being proud of painting portraits of both the emperor and of members of the elite (see fig. 329 and plate 38c). Furthermore, specific technical details found on both private and imperial portraits can occasionally be attributed to a particular workshop; and the whole distribution system of the imperial portrait seems to have been taken care of by regional and local workshops. All these factors make it probable that private and imperial portraits were produced in the same workshops.²³ The workshops, which were frequently updated on the new directions taken in the imperial image, were probably the main contributing factor to the success of the 'period face'. This may also be the reason why major or minor details of hair and/or physiognomy always set the portrait of the emperor apart from images of private people. Only workshops which were familiar with the typological details of the imperial portrait, could produce images of private citizens, which were very close to the portrait of the emperor, without actually being identical with it.

The limitations and the possibilities of the period-face: variation in portrait styles

Zanker's pyramidal structure and the role which it gives to the imperial image for the 'Zeitgesicht' is rooted in the traditional perception of a smooth-running centrally-programmed imperial propaganda system (to which we shall return below). This formulation is now seen as too rigid.

It is based on the assumption that changes in Roman portraiture were the result of a one-way communication from above, from the ruler to those over whom he ruled. Interchange between private and imperial imagery is reduced to a minimum in this construct, as is any scope for variation and for the fact that a particular style may have had different resonances in different contexts. Multiple examples also demonstrate that the face, which eventually became the ‘period face’, was current in private portraiture long before the trend was picked up in the imperial image;²⁴ and many portraits showed only superficial resemblance to the imperial portrait by wearing the beard and long hair, for example.

A number of examples demonstrate that a given period did not produce just one ‘period-face’. Rather, several or even multiple styles proliferated, of which the imperial image represented only one. In other words, a number of stylistic options were available to those who were to be depicted. The type of image chosen was dependant on personal preferences and cultural identities; these were just as important as the function of the image. The most striking example is a series of clean-shaven portraits; these are part of the Hadrianic stylistic package, but clearly have a ‘period-face’ different from that favoured by the bearded emperor during the late Hadrianic era. The ‘rejection’ of the beard in these portraits has been explained as constituting a gesture of opposition towards the emperor, but it is better explained as representing a traditional conservative alternative to the emperor’s new bearded face.²⁵ It must be remembered that the normative form of the Roman portrait image was the honorific statue. We have seen that many portraits may have been awarded posthumously and, in addition, that patrons took care that their statue would not be removed from its prominent position in the city; further, it is evident that the portraits eventually came to function as the communal ancestors of the city. No other artistic medium changed as rapidly and as continuously as the Roman portrait. It was constantly being updated and the choice between the ‘period face’ currently popular and a more old-fashioned one is indicative of the statue’s putative ancestral role. When a patron had to wait until his death to have his portrait displayed in the forum it may have been his specific choice or that of his survivors, that he should be represented in the old-fashioned style. This would emphasise the ancestral aspect of the posthumously dedicated honorific statue, which was perhaps its most important aspect. The style might have been the one characteristic of the patron in the prime of his life, or it may just have been chosen because it affiliated him with imagery of an earlier period. Two naked Hadrianic busts in the Capitoline Museums, both signed by the Greek sculptor Zenas, may illustrate this. From their identical bust shapes, name-plates and bust feet, it is obvious that they were made as a pair (figs. 210–213). One bust shows

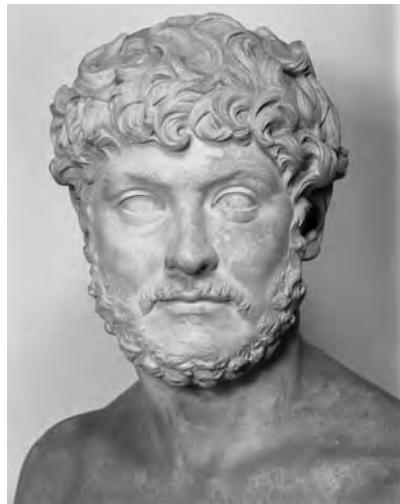
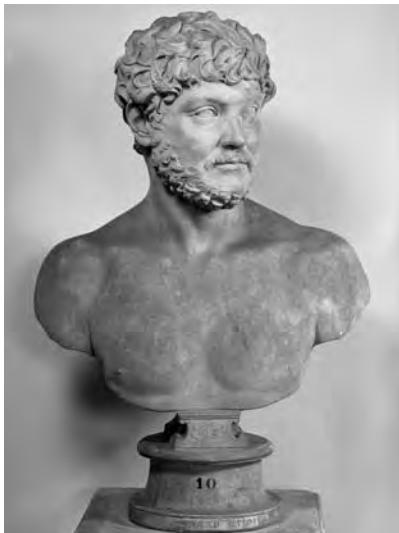


Fig. 210
Bust of an elderly clean-shaven man styled in a conservative manner. It is signed by the Greek sculptor Zenas and formed a pair with Fig. 212. Hadrianic. Marble. Height: 0.71 m. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi 66.

Fig. 211
Detail of head Fig. 210.



Fig. 212
Bust of a man styled in accordance with imperial portrait style. Hadrianic. Marble. Height: 0.69 m. Rome, Museo Capitolino.

Fig. 213
Detail of head Fig. 212.

a young person with beard and curly hair similar to the beard and hairstyle worn by Hadrian, while the other shows an elderly clean-shaven man with a furrowed forehead and hair that is short, except for the tousled front locks.²⁶ The choice of body format could express social status and/or very basic aspects of identity: Greek or Roman, whether the figure is supernatural or real. The portrait head was the only means of expressing more sophisticated personal concerns such as the importance of one's ancestry.

Fig. 214
Statue of Crepereia Innula found near Haidra in Tunisia with its inscribed base. Marble.
Height: 1.82 m. Tunis, Bardo Museum.

Fig. 215
Base for the statue of Crepereia Innula Fig. 214.
Height: 1.3 m;
Width: 0.83 m;
Depth: 0.58 m.



Although the diverse inscriptions and statue formats of Balbus in Herculaneum are better preserved than his actual portrait heads, it seems certain that when he was commemorated posthumously in a cuirass statue with naked feet, a portrait style evocative of images of Hellenistic heroic portraiture of the early first century was chosen; this statue was next to his funerary altar just outside the city. In the togatus from the basilica, Balbus is styled as a young contemporary of Augustus, with a short fringe of hair sweeping across his forehead and a nondescript youthful physiognomy. The styling of his posthumous portrait, however, set up during the last quarter of the first century B.C. draws neither on the grim *nobilitas* style nor on the youthful portrait of Augustus. In the distant glance, the mobile modelling of the skin and in the openness of the face it is reminiscent of Hellenistic royal portraits. It is



Fig. 216
Bust of the same
Crepereia Innula as
Fig. 214. It was found
with the statue of
Crepereia also with base
that belongs to it.
Height: 0.72 m. Tunis,
Bardo Museum.

Fig. 217
Base for the bust of
Crepereia Innula Fig. 216.
Height: 1.34 m;
Width: 0.65 m;
Depth: unknown.

thus characteristic of a series of first century B.C. portraits perhaps showing successful generals, as mentioned above.²⁷ Balbus' funerary altar and image were the meeting and departure points for the yearly *parentalia* procession honouring the ancestors; he had now become the ancestral hero of the city.

Roman private portraits were not mass-produced even when numerous portraits were required. Every single portrait was special commissioned and its image governed by personal preferences. Communal identity and modes of articulating it, as well as other factors such as the workshop from which it came all played a decisive role in the styling of a portrait. When a number of portraits of the same person were needed a choice arose as to whether a model that already existed should be used, or whether to create a new one which had different connotations. The latter was obviously the case for Balbus' posthumous portrait.

During the imperial period, however, when multiple copies of the imperial portrait became the rule, this situation may gradually have changed. Numerous examples of portrait types represented by two or more copies and not identifiable with any member of the imperial house, suggest that private citizens also preferred to re-use the same model. This may have been for practical reasons or simply because it was important that the person portrayed would immediately be recognized. Because so few portraits are preserved with the inscriptions that originally accompanied them, not to mention information about whether the honorand was dead or alive when the portrait was set up, the mo-



Fig. 218
Bust of a clean-shaven man with simple 'fringe'-hairstyle of the Trajanic period. Marble. Height: 0.46 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

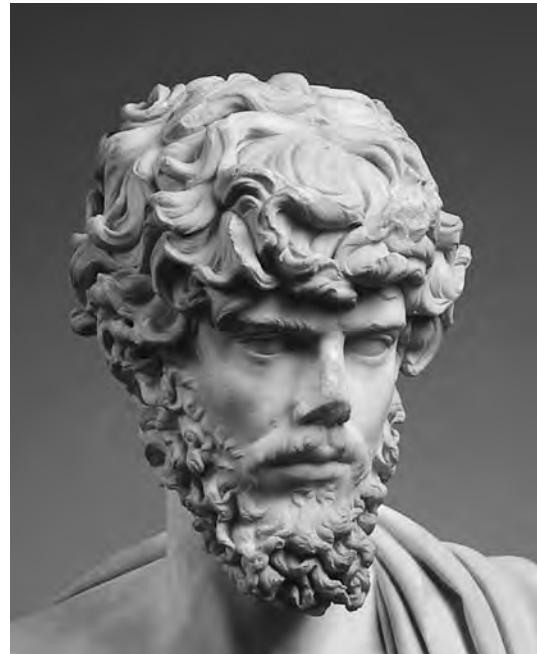


Fig. 219
Bust of a bearded man with long curly hairstyle of the Hadrianic period. Marble. Height: 0.7 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

tivations behind the choice for a copy of an already existing model or for a new model remain an open question. An example from the late second century A.D. illustrates, however, that different models representing the same individual were still preferred in this late period. The statue and bust of a woman named Crepereia Innula were found together with their inscribed bases in a unidentified structure at a site outside ancient Haïdra in modern Tunisia (figs. 214–217). The lack of any official imprimatur in the inscriptions, which were set up to commemorate Crepereia Innula by her husband, suggests that the find spot may have been a villa or tomb site.

CREPEREIAE
Q FIL INNULAE
CONIUGI RARISSIMAE
T ARRANIUS T FIL
QVIR COMMODUS
OPTIME DE SE MERITAE

Crepereiae
Q(uinti) fil(iae) Innulae
coniugi rarissimae
T(itus) Arranius T(iti) fil(ius)
Quir(ina) Commodus
Optime de se meritae

Titus Arranius Commodus, son of Titus, of the Quirinian tribe, (set up this image) for Crepereia Innula, daughter of Quintus, his most precious wife, deserving of his deepest gratitude.²⁸

The statue shows Crepereia with a late Antonine hairstyle parted in the middle and combed straight back into a loose bun at the nape of her

head. She is represented in the guise of the Small Herculanean Woman but, unusually, she is leaning on an altar at her left side, suggesting that she may be a priestess. The widest of the bases may be associated with the statue.²⁹ The bust shows Crepereia with a typical Severan crimped helmet hairstyle, obviously in a later state of her life.

An important effect of the success of the 'period-face' was that the portraits might look like ancestors after just a single generation had passed. In the forum of a municipal town in the 120s A.D. one would encounter honorific statues just a generation old which would have appeared old-fashioned in both style and technique (figs. 218–219). The men would have been clean-shaven. In contrast to the new bearded and curly-haired portraits their hair was combed deeply onto the forehead in long straight strands. Women would have worn high sponge-like toupet hairstyles rather than the plain, almost classical hairstyles that were currently fashionable. And there would have been no use of the drill to mark the details of the eyes. Again, it must be remembered that while the portrait head changed dramatically there were no significant developments in body styling of statues.

The portraits of actors from the Sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis: a case study in diversity

We may now return to the representation of Fundilius.³⁰ I mentioned in the Introduction that without the accompanying inscription we would hardly have interpreted Fundilius as a freedman with a profession that was considered highly unworthy, according to the literary sources at least. The ancient viewer would immediately have noticed that Fundilius wears simple soft boots and that there was (probably) neither a *clavus* on the tunica nor a purple border on the toga (plates 26, 28–29).³¹ However, in the 'white' incarnation that has reached us, without the painted insignia, we are highly dependent on understanding the styling of the head for our interpretation of the statue. It is of excellent eastern marble, perhaps from Docimion. All of it, including the head, is cut from a single piece.³² At his left leg is a support in the form of a *capsula* for book scrolls. Between his legs on the plinth lies a ribbon which had obviously been tied around the scroll. He is just about to open the scroll and would have held it in his (now missing) right hand.³³ The head has a proud and energetic turn. The hair is cut short with a row of short locks combed onto the forehead, swept to the right and left from a centre parting in a styling similar to the courtly hairstyles in Rome, in particular that of Tiberius. The face, however, does not show any of the juvenile

characteristics and ideals typical of the first emperors. We obviously confront an elderly man when we see the tight mouth, furrowed forehead and deep nasolabial grooves. More importantly, the asymmetry of the head with the raised left eyebrow and the sensitive modelling of the almost swollen flesh relate to ideals quite different to those of the Tiberian period. They are best compared to portraiture during the Claudian era. Details on the toga such as the vivid folds and small depressions in the hem forming the selvage reveal that its carving is of the highest quality. The styling of the Fundilius statue equals the best works found in Rome during this period. In his energetic pose and proud facial expression he might well have been an important senator or orator about to deliver a speech recorded in the scroll, which he had just untied. Yet on the *capsula* is the following inscription, also repeated on the front of the plinth: C·FUNDILIUS DOCTUS APPOLINIS PARASITUS. The lack of a patronymic indicates that Gaius Fundilius is a freedman and Apollo's parasite or guest, meaning an actor. He is also *doctus*, an educated man.³⁴ The nominative of the inscription suggests that he erected the statue himself perhaps as a votive offering to the goddess of the sanctuary.

The context for Fundilius' statue is the sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis (of the woods) (fig. 220). It was found in what is now called the 'Room of Fundilia', one of several small rooms off the northern wing of the central portico surrounding the sanctuary.³⁵ The small room (5.6×6) has a simple late Republican black and white mosaic floor with a central inscription set in a *tabula*.³⁶ It had a scrolled border and the walls were red.³⁷ The statue of Fundilius was displayed probably on a base on the mosaic floor in the eastern corner of the room up against the back wall. The only other full-figure statue in the room stood in the western corner and formed a companion piece to the statue of Fundilius (plates 27, 39). It represented Fundilia, daughter of Gaius and Patrona, FUNDILIAE·C·F·PATRONAE, as the inscription on the low plinth into which the statue is inserted, tells us.³⁸ Dressed in a *chiton*, a large mantle and *stola* (the latter characterizing her as an honourable, upper-class married matrona), she is obviously the former owner of Fundilius, who possibly set up the statue in her honour, as the use of the dative suggests.³⁹ The size of the two statues and the carving of the drapery (for example over the right thigh) suggest that the statues of Fundilius and Fundilia were made as a pair. Strong gender differences prevail in their body language, however. While the pose and the drapery arrangement of Fundilius' statue expresses openness, energy and dominance, the concealed, wrapped-up body of Fundilia expresses her chaste and honourable lifestyle.⁴⁰ The inserted head of Fundilia shows her to sport a variation of the so-called Nodus hairstyle, fashionable during the late Republican and early Augustan period.⁴¹ She does not have the usual knot at the



Plate 25
One of the herms found in the so-called Room of Fundilia depicting Staia Quinta. The herm is of grey marble while the inserted bust is of white marble. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Plate 26

Statue of the actor and freedman Caius Fundilius Doctus found in the so-called Room of Fundilia in the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi. Marble. Height: 1.83 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.





Plate 27
Statue of Fundilia Rufa
found in the so-called
Room of Fundilia in the
sanctuary of Diana in
Nemi. Marble. Height:
1.78 m. Copenhagen, Ny
Carlsberg Glyptotek.

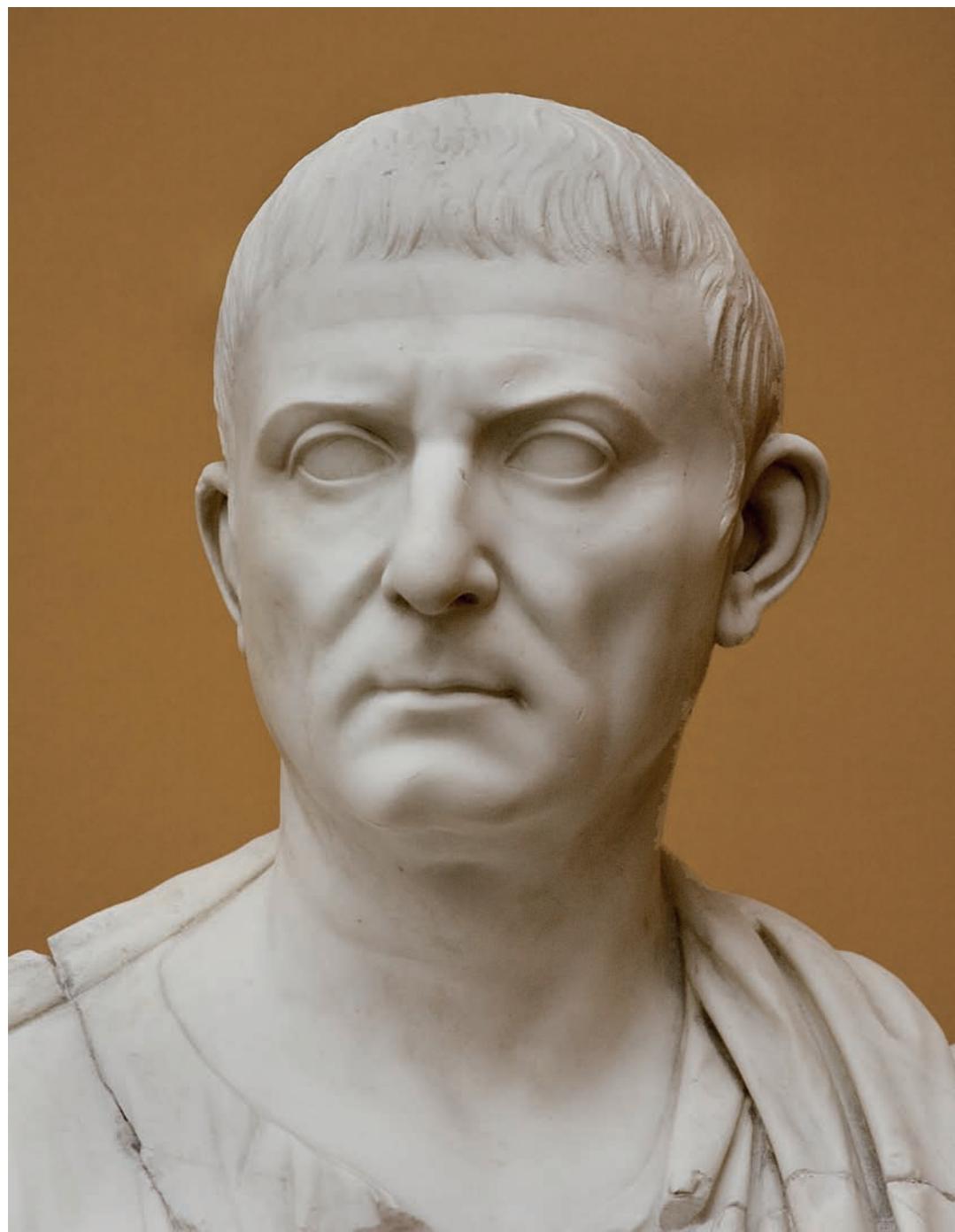


Plate 28
Detail of the head of Fundilius Plate 26.



Plate 29a
Detail of the plinth of the Fundilius statue Plate 26.



Plate 29b
Detail of the inscription on the plinth of the statue of Fundilius Plate 26.



Fig. 220

Reconstruction of the so-called Room of Fundilia in the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi. Drawing by Thora Fisker.





Plate 30
Detail of the head of the statue of Fundilia Plate 27.



Plate 31a
Detail of the head of
the herm of Fundilia
Plate 31b.



Plate 31b
Herm of grey marble
with inserted head of
Fundilia in white marble.
Height: 1.55 m. Notting-
ham, Castle Museum.

Plate 31c
Bust of a woman.
Height: 0.4 m. Copen-
hagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek.



Plate 32

Bust of the rhetor Quintus Hostius Capito. Height with herm: 1.44 m. Height of bust: 0.32 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Plate 33a
Bust of Staia Quinta.
Height with herm: 1.44 m.
Height of bust: 0.44 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Plate 33b
Head of Licinia
Chrysarion. Height of
herm: 1.36 m. Height of
bust: 0.31 m. The herm
(not shown) is Notting-
ham Castle Museum inv.
N 830 on loan to Ny
Carlsberg Glyptotek. Co-
penhagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek.



Plate 33c
Bust of Lucius Aninius
Rufus quaestor of Aricia.
Height with herm: 1.5 m.
Height of bust: 0.4 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carls-
berg Glyptotek.

Plate 33d
Bust of a victorious
actor? Height of bust:
0.4 m. Copenhagen,
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Plate 34a
The bust of Staia Quinta
in Plate 33a seen from
below.

Plate 34b
The bust of Licinia
Chrysarion in Plate 33b.
seen from below.

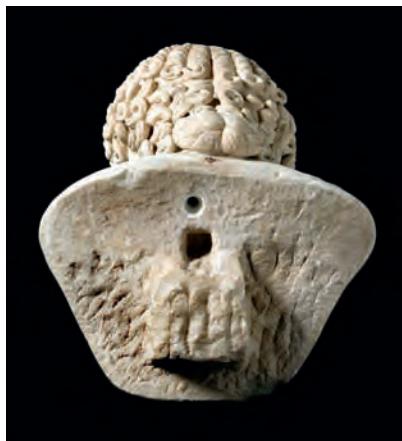


Plate 34c
The bust of Lucius
Aninius Rufus in Plate 33c
seen from below.

Plate 34d
The bust of Quintus
Hostius Capito in Plate 32
seen from below.





Plate 35a
The inside of the herm of
Staia Quinta in Plate 33a.

Plate 35b
The inside of the herm of
Licinia Chrysarion in
Plate 33b.



Plate 35c
The inside of the herm of
Lucius Aninius Rufus in
Plate 33c.

Plate 35d
The inside of the herm of
Quintus Hostius Capito
seen in Plate 32.

nape of the neck, but instead wears two thick plaits, which are placed high on her head. Behind the flat *nodus*, above her forehead, there is a flat cutting and a depression, originally meant for holding an additional high feather-like hair piece. This is now missing but is preserved on the other head of Fundilia which was found in the same room (plates 31a–b). Fundilia may therefore wear the legendary Republican *tutulus* hairstyle, described by Varro as obligatory for the *matres familias*. The *tutulus* was a high construction made from twisted locks of hair intertwined with purple woollen threads and worn on the top of the head.⁴² It is rarely found in sculptural representations and must have been perceived as extremely old-fashioned.⁴³ In accord with this, Fundilia has the serious, bony face of an old woman, marked by a deep furrow across the forehead, and wrinkles below the eyes and around the nose. The hairstyle and the ideal of aristocratic femininity presented here refer to late Republican female portrait styles. Yet, the sharply outlined eyebrows form a high curve and almost reach her temple. This and the treatment of her skin correspond better to the styles of later periods and are best compared to portraits of the Claudian period, in particular to that of Fundilius himself. Fundilia, Fundilius' former owner, is portrayed in a very old-fashioned style which indicates that she is being presented as his ancestor. In that role Fundilia follows a series of important Republican women, including Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, whose public role it was to be ancestor.⁴⁴ The better-preserved head of Fundilia was mounted, unusually, on a draped herm in grey bardiglio marble.⁴⁵ The inscription on the base of the herm is different from that on the statue as it is in the nominative and stresses that Fundilia is Fundilius' *patrona*, FUNDILIA·C·F·RUFA·PATRONA·DOCTI.⁴⁶ In the statue she is honoured similarly to the way in which Fundilius honoured himself. The herm clarifies the relationship between the two, explaining that Fundilia is the *patrona*, who freed Fundilius. The choice of the herm format also relates her to the other sculptures in the room, which comprise white marble portraits mounted on herm shafts of the same grey-blue bardiglio marble.⁴⁷ Unlike the draped herm of Fundilia, though, all the other herms have slim tapering shafts, which are left plain except for an inscription bearing the sitter's name.

The find also includes four portraits mounted on their respective herms as well as a male portrait with wreath and a female portrait which cannot be easily linked with the remaining two herms found in the room (plates 25, 31c, 32–35).⁴⁸ Five of the heads are carved in the exquisite white marble extracted from the Lychnites quarries on Paros,⁴⁹ while the portrait of Licinia Chrysarion is of a different marble, probably also from Paros. Among the group, which would have included at least eight plain herms, there are two, possibly three more actors, all of whom are



Fig. 221
Staia Quinta's luxurious hairstyle with ribbon from behind. The details at the back of the heads from the Fundilia room suggest that they may originally have been displayed in a different context.

men. Two are evidenced only by their herms: Lucius Faenius Faustus, L·FAENIUS·FAUSTUS·QUARTAR·PAR·APOL, Apollo's *parasitus* and performer in the fourth role,⁵⁰ and Caius Norbanus Sorex, C·NORBANU[s---?] SOREX·SECUNDARUM·PARASITUS·D·N·D·D· (Dianae nemorensi dono dedit) *parasitus* and performer in the second role.⁵¹ Sorex is also known from Pompeii where he was honoured with two herms, one of which has its bronze portrait preserved.⁵² The latter stood in the temple of Isis while the other now headless herm stood in the building of Eumachia. The Pompeian herms carry identical inscriptions and were erected there according to decurional decree. As on the Nemi herm, Sorex is here described as player in the second role. The final actor in the Nemi group may be identified with the male portrait wearing a wreath of flowers (plate 33d). This characterizes him as a victor in some competition, perhaps connected with the performing arts.⁵³ The remaining two male herms represent the *rhetor* Quintus Hostius Capito, Q·HOSTIUS·Q·F·CAPITO·RHETOR (plate 32)⁵⁴ and the quaestor of nearby Aricia, Lucius Aninius Rufus, L·ANINIO·L·F·RUFO·Q·ARICIAE·PRIMA·UXOR (plate 33c).⁵⁵ Hostius Capito is a free citizen and a *rhetor*, a much more dignified profession than that of actor. He is portrayed with a traditional hairstyle, with hair that is cut extremely short. The portrait accords well with the stylistic trends of the Claudian period.⁵⁶ Hostius Capito's portrait also fits stylistically with the Claudian period. The *quaestor* of Aricia whose portrait relates closely to that of Fundilius was probably a relative of Fundilia Rūfa, as his cognomen 'Rufus' suggests. He may have been part of a business arrangement with

Fundilia as discussed below. The presence of the portrait of the *rhetor* as well as the portraits of three women (two of which represent the freed-women Staia Quinta and Licinia Chrysarion respectively) is difficult to explain (plates 25, 33a–b, fig. 221).⁵⁷ *Rhetores* and *oratores* learned a lot about the art of performance from actors. But an excessively close relationship was damaging for the *rhetor*, who might no longer be believed to speak the truth.⁵⁸ The Parasites of Apollo were an association of scenic performers, whose members included pantomimes, mimes and actors.⁵⁹ Fundilius, however, had a special role in being *doctus* ('learned'). His determined pose, the energetic turn of his head and his proud and serious facial expression send out clear message that he was neither a mime nor pantomime for whom speech played no role. Rather he was a serious actor perhaps even one who performed in tragedy. The *rhetor* is perhaps a grateful pupil or even a distant colleague, whose portrait and honourable position lends meaning to Fundilius' view of himself as 'learned' within the group. The inscriptions do not tell us anything to suggest why the freedwomen were present among the group but female mimes are known for example from an association which owned a communal burial space in Rome.⁶⁰ It is therefore possible that the freed-women from the Nemi group were performers, too.

There can be no doubt that the sculptures described above formed part of an ensemble, in which Fundilius was the central feature. The herm format, the type of marble, the quality of the carving and the style of the portraits demonstrate that they were set up as a group sometime during the Claudian period. The group may have been housed in the so-called Fundilia room or in another part of the sanctuary (the sanctuary itself was being constantly remodelled). Because some of the portraits have previously been dated to the Tiberian period and others to as late as the Flavian era it has been difficult to explain the find as an ensemble as one which had a common purpose and meaning. However, as I have argued above, there is no need to separate the portraits chronologically.⁶¹ The five portraits of Lychnites marble were perhaps even extracted from the same block, and were no doubt made in the same workshop (fig. 222). They bear witness to the multiple choice and variation that prevailed in the styling of portraits produced within the same period, made for the same social or associated group and by the same workshop. Hostius Capito whose profession is described in the inscription by the Greek term *rhetor* – snobbism for Greek culture? – is shown sporting a short-cropped hairstyle, which has no relation to the stereotypical portraits of Greek philosophers. He has also discarded the ostentatious styling that begins to characterize portraits of the late Claudian and particularly the Neronean period.⁶² In contrast, the victorious anonymous actor follows the trends of the Claudian period more closely, just

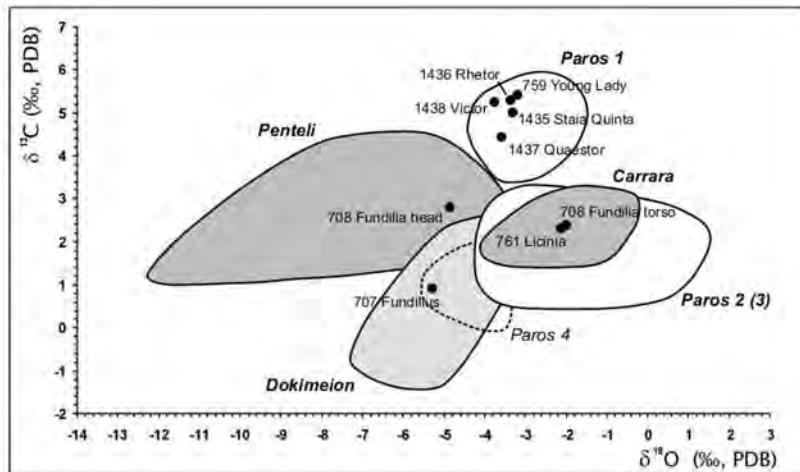


Fig. 222
Diagram of the isotopic analyses of the sculptures from the so-called Room of Fundilia based on the values published by Moltesen & Bald Romano & Herz 2002. The diagram shows that five of the herm portraits may stem from the same block of marble from the Lychnites quarry on Paros. Diagram by Barbara Borg.

like Fundilius. His face shows signs of the beginning of verism. Staia Quinta, in turn, alludes to Venus not only with her one bare shoulder but she has also been given a luxurious curly hairstyle, which was not matched by any worn by the courtly ladies. The other unnamed female portrait sports a more moderate but still very complicated hairstyle while Licinia wears a simple old-fashioned arrangement. Variation is not restricted to the different hairstyles which these three women wear but is also found in the bust pieces. The bust of Licinia is naked, the unknown woman seems to wear her tunica in the usual manner, while Staia Quinta's tunica has slipped down from her one shoulder.

The presence in this room of images both of manumitted slaves who held one of the most dishonourable professions and of local notabilities, seems like an unequal partnership. This can be accounted for by two interconnected factors. Firstly, Cicero gives a list of problems of his day which includes the establishment of business relationships between masters and slaves and between patrons and freedmen.⁶³ He relates how a certain Caius Fannius Caæra entered into a partnership with the actor Quintus Roscius Comoedus regarding a slave whom Roscius had trained in acting and whom they rented out for substantial sums.⁶⁴ Perhaps the *quaestor* Lucius Aninius Rufus was involved in a similar business arrangement with Fundilia and her freedman Fundilius and the other performers in the group. Secondly, Roman society enabled social mobility, although by law an actor like Fundilius was excluded from entering the nobility. However, his popularity, his influence as a performer as well as his own desire for public honours may have been factors that resulted in his assuming a substantial public role. We have already seen how L. Aurelius Pylades the freedman, pantomime and patron for the association of Apollo's parasites in the second century Puteoli, bought his way to pub-

lic honour by benefactions.⁶⁵ Fundilius' furnishing of the so-called Fundilia room with portraits of himself and his fellows next to a room with imperial images in the sanctuary of Diana recalls Pylades' desire for public honour. The presence of three and possibly four actors, all of whom were freedmen, suggests an organization of *parasiti* with Fundilius as their leader; it is he who is *doctus* and is represented in a full-figure statue. The organization may have had a significant role in performing religious plays such as the legendary succession of the high priest of Nemi, the Rex Nemorenses, in the small theatre situated nearby also within the sanctuary. Perhaps Sorex was invited for a particular event as a guest performer. In the full-statuary format Fundilia is associated with Fundilius. He may have set up the statue in her honour out of gratitude for his manumission, which she probably granted him after years of good income. In her herm portrait Fundilia is associated with the other herm patrons but her superiority and seniority is underlined not just in the styling of her portrait and the exaggerated, old-fashioned hairstyle but also in the stiff, old-fashioned archaic draping of the herm. None of the statues or herms carries any indication of official approval. Fundilius may have been allowed to furnish this small room as a votive offering to Diana because of his services to the religious and artistic life of the sanctuary.⁶⁶ In a neighbouring room also off the northern portico, the imperial family was honoured with a number of life-size statues. No doubt the nearby imperial statues lent a welcome prestige to Fundilius' association of actors; but in terms of their own self-representation, the styling of the imperial image left only limited impact.

We should not wonder at the use of the herm format (see above p. 228). During the Late Republic and the first part of the first century A.D. when the freestanding bust was still not the normative format for an abbreviated image, the herm was frequently deployed in domestic contexts, *scholae* and sanctuaries where space was limited (as here).⁶⁷ A parallel to the Nemi group also exists, in the form of seven herms found in the sanctuary of Hercules Cubans in Rome. All have plain, tapering shafts in coloured marble and bear white marble portraits of unnamed men; the straps wound around their breasts identify the men as charioteers (figs. 223–224). They were probably victors in the games associated with the cult. But it is uncertain whether they were set up as a group. Three different types of coloured marble identified as africano, bardiglio and bigio, were used for the shafts. The portraits have what at first hand seem to represent a wide date range from the Tiberian into the early Hadrianic periods.⁶⁸ However, heavy reworking on the heads may account for their uneven quality and style.⁶⁹

Three important issues relating to the styling of portraits are encapsulated in the Nemi find: Firstly, the exquisite carving of the statue of



Fundilius and the herm portraits and the choice of the finest available marble as material show that quality of carving and sophistication in styling had little to do with social status. Secondly, a range of personal factors influenced the styling of portraits. The best workshops could fulfil their client's desires to represent particular aspects of their identity or ancestry, or even give the statue an air of contemporaneity, luxury, or verism in accord (or in contrast) with current trends. We may recall here how it could be inferred from Pliny the Younger's request for guidance in his composition for his laudatio for Cottius that the best portrait sculptor or painter was the one who could best take instructions.⁷⁰ Thirdly, only good contexts enable us to understand the nuances of the statuary representation.

The variety of styles that are documented, for instance in the Nemi group, continued throughout the first century. Although this may have had an ideological and contextual meaning, variety on its own was certainly an issue. This is evident in the representation of the so-called *camilli*, boy servants with female hairstyles, on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum. The *camilli* show a broad variety of hairstyles that were fashionable during the Trajanic period and they were possibly deployed for no other reason than displaying variation.

During the second part of the second century the production of Roman honorific and private portrait sculpture reached its zenith. Diversity was still a very significant element in the self-representation of private people during the second century but many more preferred to style themselves in close imitation of the fashions adopted by the im-

Fig. 223
Head of a charioteer in white marble on a herm of red marble. Found with several other herms in the sanctuary of Hercules Cubans in Rome. Height: 0.35 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

Fig. 224
Profile of charioteer in Fig. 223. Like most of the other heads of charioteers from the sanctuary the head has been recut.

perial family. Klaus Fittschen's collection of portraits of youths from the late Hadrianic to the early Severan period arranged according to the imperial images to which they relate, demonstrates this.⁷¹ Close copying is also a trend of the imperial portrait during the second century. Variations in the copies of a single imperial type are clearly reduced when compared to the first century.⁷² It is probable that by the second century, regional and local workshops across the Empire had become so used to fulfilling the demand for the 'mass-produced' imperial portraits, that new, specialized techniques were employed to make the process even easier and more accurate. This also had an effect on images of private citizens because they could now style themselves more effectively on the imperial models – without copying them exactly.

The Period-face was closely associated with the imperial portrait until the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Beard and short-cropped hair remained the imperial fashion until the accession of Constantine the Great. Private citizens styled themselves accordingly. During the Tetrarchy we still encounter the typical third century imperial image with short-cropped hair and beard. In fact though, formal and stylistic details had changed significantly. The veristic style, which strove to represent accurately the real (or possibly real) appearance of the patron and which had characterized the Roman portrait for more than four hundred years, was replaced by a style in which abstraction played a dominant role (fig. 225). Statues now had almost cubic heads and sharply separated sections, which gave the face a geometric build-up, as well as large wide-open staring eyes, and hard carvings. Portraiture under Diocletian thus underwent a significant formal and stylistic visual re-orientation which was strikingly described by H.P. L'Orange as a development from 'body to symbol'.⁷³ This reorientation is traditionally interpreted within the various frameworks of 'orientalism', 'Plebeian Roman form', 'anxiety' or 'spirituality' in a period of economic and religious crisis. Fourth to sixth century portrait sculptures from Aphrodisias and Ephesos which have been well-documented, as well as new investigations of the surviving statue bases have, however, now thrown light on the identity of the persons represented in these portraits. Except for the emperor most of these portraits represent members of the cosmopolitan governing elite – that is, either proconsuls, governors or senators. It is likely that this shift in portrait and statuary representation was meant to be expressive of the discipline, justice and order of the new government: Ειθυδίκης. It may also have represented the (re-) interpretation of old Roman traditions as constituted in Diocletian's new governmental organization of the four men's rule.⁷⁴ The concept of promoting justice is now articulated in the wording on statue bases describing the vital role of the new political elite of the East.⁷⁵ In the West and especially in Rome itself the senators

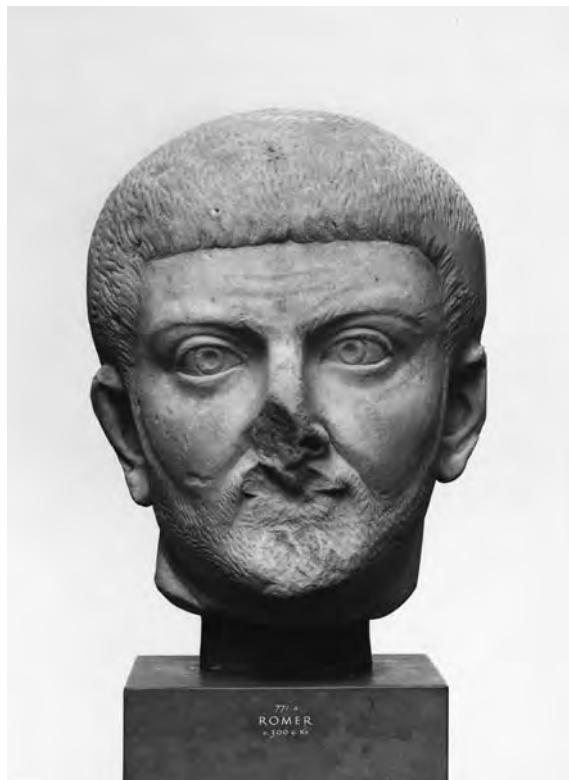


Fig. 225
Portrait of a private citizen styled in the manner of the Tetrarchian emperors. Late third to early fourth century A.D.
Marble. Height: 0.27 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

saw their power reinstalled. The imperial residences were moved east. Statuary representation can now be seen as centred on the exchange between emperor and *prefectus urbi* and other city officials.⁷⁶ Law and order played a crucial part in the glorification of the elite in the city of Rome.⁷⁷ Officials and emperors also strove to convince the plebs that Rome and its classical governmental institutions would live on forever. With the rule of Constantine the Great the impact of the imperial image on the styling of private citizens changed. We can no longer tell which emperor is represented. The super-natural role of the emperor evident in ceremonial, and in statuary on his clean-shaved face – which is now so idealized that we can no longer determine which emperor is represented – was now so remote from private citizens that the period-face was no longer relevant. Although selected details from the idealized youthful features and fringed hairstyle of the emperors may be recognized in a number of private portraits,⁷⁸ the majority of portraits of private citizens from the fourth to sixth centuries were styled differently from the ruler portrait boasting either a full- or stubble beard and long, drilled, curly ‘mop-like’ hair.⁷⁹

Identifying workshops in Roman private portraits?

Sculptors are depicted at work on reliefs, physical remains of workshops are extant, and artists signatures on sculptures and statue bases have survived. In spite of these diverse forms of evidence, we know hardly anything about how a workshop like the one that produced the portraits for the Fundilia room in the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi, was organized.⁸⁰ We also do not know where it would have been situated geographically: on site, in Rome or in a regional urban centre nearby? Workshops were certainly based in the large quarries engaged in making prefabricated and partially fabricated architectural members and sarcophagi, the latter being the only sculptural genre which seems to have been systematically mass-produced. It is likely that important sites situated away from the main city centres also had one or more workshops on site supplying the demand for both public and private commissions. It is possible (but not certain) for instance, that the exuberant sculptural décor of the villa of Herodes Atticus was made in on-site workshops. The few literary and epigraphic sources, which are concerned with workshops, are not very helpful either.⁸¹ Nor do we have evidence as to whether a workshop or the Latin term *oficina* was similar to the modern concept of a workshop, entailing a permanent studio in which the master and his apprentices worked; or whether the sculptors or workshops were itinerant. Lastly, we do not know how specialized the workshops were and whether they functioned as open exhibition spaces in which customers could inspect already finished commissions and models.⁸² Perhaps this was the situation depicted in the scene painted on the inside of a stone sarcophagus from Panticapeion. It shows the portrait painter himself and has been discussed above (see plate 19a). Perhaps *oficina* could also mean a group of sculptors travelling for commissions. Two reliefs depict portrait sculptors at work.⁸³ The first, a Hadrianic funerary altar probably from Rome, shows a sculptor carving a *clipeus* with a portrait bust of a young girl placed on top of a tall pillar. A woman standing next to the pillar holds the frame of the *clipeus* while she looks at the portrait. It seems likely that the scene illustrates the close relationship between the sculptor and the woman who commissioned the *clipeus* portrait.⁸⁴ The second scene adorns the base of a fragmentary sarcophagus from Ephesus and shows two portrait sculptors at work. One is carving a large late second century or third century A.D. himation bust portrait while the other sculptor works on a full-figure himation portrait statue (fig. 226). The latter relief suggests that the workshop may have specialized in portraits and that it was also responsible for carving different body formats.⁸⁵

Good contexts, therefore, such as the Fundilia room in Nemi, obviously comprise the best evidence for workshops. But even with this def-



Fig. 226
Fragment of a sarcophagus from Ephesos showing sculptors carving a himation statue and a large bust. Marble. Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

inite group as a starting point the question remains as to whether the same workshop was responsible for other commissions in the sanctuary.⁸⁶ Relying on resemblances in style and carving when identifying workshops is problematic. Considering the demand for different types of sculptural decoration for both public and private spaces, Rome and the major urban centres across the Empire must have been very rich in sculptural workshops and craftsmen who continuously changed workshop not unlike the situation in the eighteenth century. Further, very few portraits were signed, and in cases such as Aulus' workshop described below, we do not know whether the name in the signature referred to the sculptor or a possible entrepreneur/workshop owner.⁸⁷ Identifying hands or attempting master attributions therefore seems pointless.⁸⁸ Based on a hypothetical model of how imperial portraits were commissioned and disseminated attempts at attributing series of portraits of a given emperor to specific metropolitan Roman workshops have proven very problematic (see the discussion below under so-called 'Hof-Werkstatt'), and workshop attributions are even more complicated when we are dealing with private portraits. An example of how difficult stylistically-based attributions may be, is found in three busts, representing Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and Herodes Atticus and discovered at the sanctuary of Isis at Vrexiza, south east of Marathon, probably in the baths adjoining the sanctuary.⁸⁹ The two imperial busts have identical cuirass busts and identical, carefully-indicated individual strands of hair shown as a number of parallel curving lines. The extensive drill work so characteristic of metropolitan workshops is very limited and completely lacking in the beard. Instead, the tufts of hair gain plasticity by deep undercuttings and strong modelling. Carefully engraved parallel lines delineate individual strands of hair in the tufts. The formal, technical and stylistic similarities place the two imperial busts in the same local workshop (figs. 227–237). The bust of Herodes Atticus, however, is both astonishingly similar and very different. It deploys a similar treatment of individual strands of hair, with carefully incised lines that run parallel with each other, but the individual locks are not separated by undercutting or strong



Fig. 227

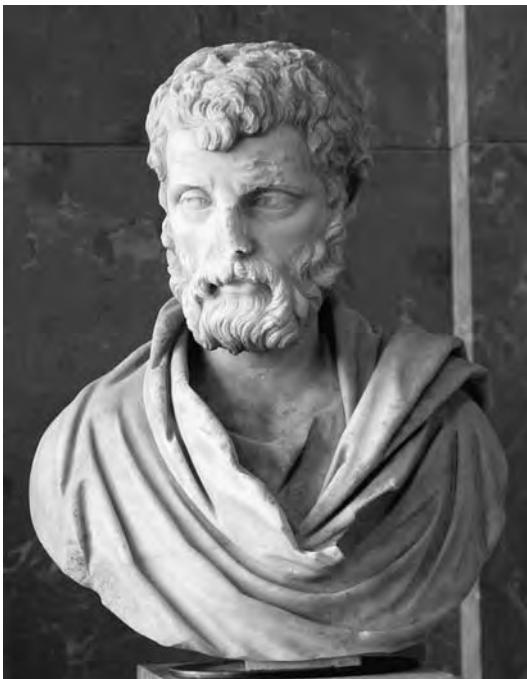
Bust of Marcus Aurelius found with busts representing Lucius Verus and Herodes Atticus (Figs. 227, 229) at Vrexiza by Marathon, Greece. Marble. Height: 0.7 m Paris, Louvre.

Fig. 228

Bust of Lucius Verus found with busts of Marcus Aurelius and Herodes Atticus (Figs. 227, 229) at Vrexiza by Marathon, Greece. Marble. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Fig. 229

Bust of Herodes Atticus found with busts of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Figs. 227, 228) at Vrexiza by Marathon, Greece. Marble. Height: 0.62 m. Paris, Louvre.





modelling. Rather, they form an undefined mass clinging closely to the skull. Herodes also has a wrinkled forehead and sagging cheeks (he must have been in his late fifties or early sixties when the group was commissioned). There are hardly any traces of the contrasting smooth skin and spongy coarse hair so characteristic of metropolitan works but also present in the busts of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, though to a much lesser extent. No matter how we interpret the differences – Herodes might have preferred a styling which reflected his Hellenic identity; or the sculptor might have chosen not to deploy typical Antonine features because they did not represent his concept for the expression of his por-

Fig. 230
Read side of bust of
Marcus Aurelius Fig. 227.

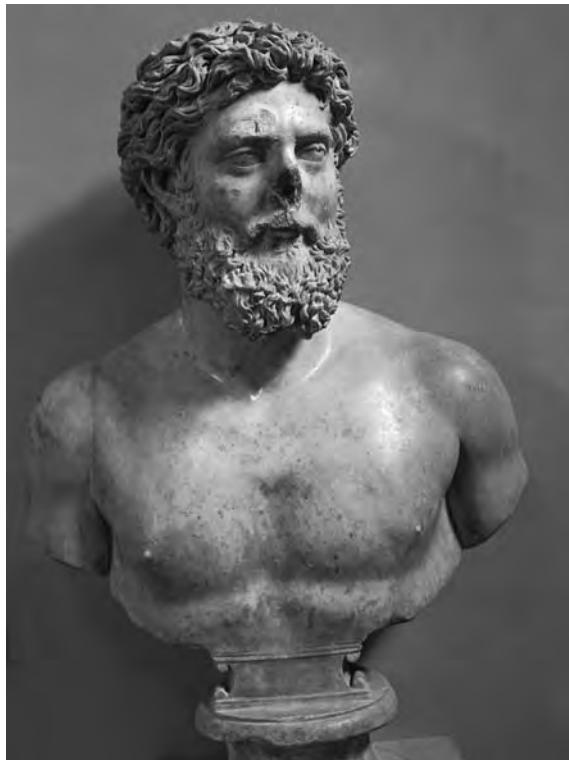
Fig. 231
Rear side of bust of
Lucius Verus Fig. 228.



Fig. 232
Rear side of bust of
Herodes Atticus Fig. 229.

Fig. 233

Portrait bust of a man of the Antonine period found in the baths of a private villa near Teramo. Marble. Height: 0.78 m. Teramo, Museo Civico.



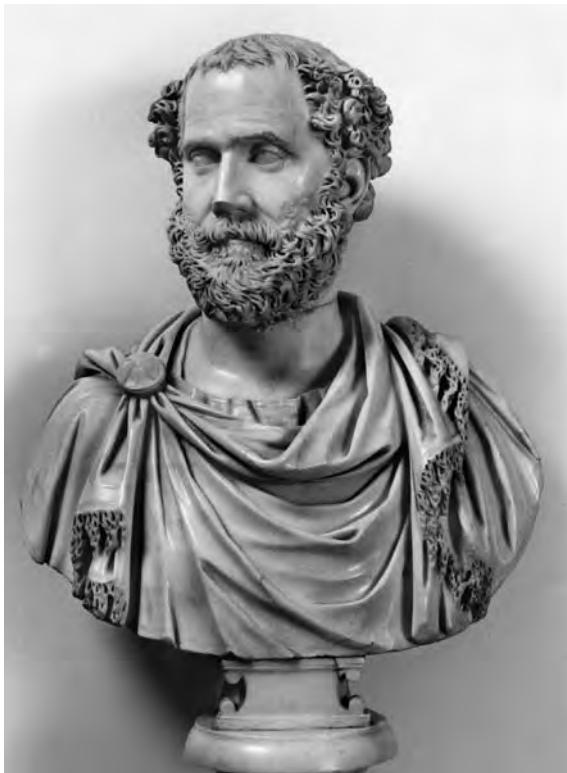
trait⁹⁰ – we would hardly have ascribed the busts to the same workshop. The rear sides of the busts, however, are more informative. All three have a bust support with a termination resembling two palm leaves, and there is no rim hanging over the bust support. This type of support is different from the usual metropolitan Roman one, which is much slimmer and only becomes slightly wider at either the top or the base. The palm leaf bust supports feature almost exclusively in busts found in Attika or those which may be ascribed to the Attic sculptural tradition. Klaus Fittschen has attributed the use of this particular form of bust support to an Attic workshop active during the late Hadrianic into the late Antonine/early Severan period c. 130–190 to which he ascribes 22 busts mainly from Greece.⁹¹ Technical devices, such as the bust supports, which were used without attention to any issues of styling, may form safer criteria than style itself.⁹² Three of the busts with the Attic palm-bust support represent emperors, thus confirming that local workshops produced portraits of both emperors and private citizens. A significant additional detail about this bust is the name-plate and its connection to the bust foot. There were local preferences but certain technical and iconographic details may also be workshop related.



Fig. 234
Bust of a young man
of the early Antonine
period. Marble.
Height: 0.82 m.
Castle Howard.

Finally, three male busts of extremely high quality workmanship and dating to the Antonine period, two in Castle Howard and the third in Teramo, have a number of technical and stylistic features in common (figs. 233–235)⁹³: the size of the bust, the elegantly curved bust support, the high profiled foot, the highly polished surface, the separation of locks of hair by thin very lucidly drilled channels, the designation of individual strands of hair by carefully incised lines, the indication of the 'lower level' of hair visible at certain points along the hairline where the upper layers of locks form a whirl, and the delicately incised eyebrows which meet over the root of the nose, the modest indication of the pupil. Only

Fig. 235
Bust of an elderly man
of the early Antonine
period. Marble.
Height: 0.8 m.
Castle Howard.



one of the busts has a provenance that is reasonably securely attested. It is recorded at least as early as 1832 when it was described by Nicola Palma as having been found in the baths of a suburban villa near Teramo in the Abruzzi.⁹⁴ The Castle Howard busts are, however, not just of higher quality, but they are also more closely related to each other in the parallel engraved curvy lines indicating individual strands of hair, for example. Still, the many parallels with the Teramo bust suggests a communal ‘gusto’ preferred by a wealthy and quality conscious upper class clientele for their private houses. The three busts are of much higher quality than most imperial and private portraits. They match the very best, specially commissioned imperial portraits such as the depiction of Commodus as Hercules and the over life size portraits of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus found at the so-called villa of Lucius Verus at Aqua Traversa.⁹⁵

We saw above in the portraits from the room of Fundilia in Nemi how the same workshop was capable of expressing a variety of identities and drawing on old-fashioned and contemporary styles. We may now turn our attention to the technical differences, which may exist within a single workshop. Two wonderfully preserved late Antonine or early

Severan portrait statues from Cyrene can be related to a series of bearded male portraits with long, curly, untamed hair and moustaches (figs. 236–243). This series of portraits has been interpreted as representing elite provincials of a specific ethnic origin, who may have wanted to define themselves in contrast to the cosmopolitan Romans. Alternatively they have been seen as depicting serious philosophers.⁹⁶ The two Cyrenaican statues show the same, otherwise unknown man, and were both found in the sanctuary of Apollo in Cyrene, one at the east corner and the other at the south-west corner of the temple.⁹⁷ The two statues were obviously copied from the same model. As they represent the only two copies and were found within very short distance of each other, it is most probable that they were made in the same workshop.⁹⁸ The heads, which are characterized by their cubic shape, short beard, small moustache, long bristly locks, which cover the ears, hair that is brushed up front, furrowed forehead and large strongly accentuated eyes with an upwards-directed gaze, are unbroken from the bodies. They are clad in himation with the right arm held in a sling and they wear sandals. A square *scrinium* for book scrolls with a metal hinge on the front side functions as a leg support. The figures hold a book scroll in the left hand, which also has a large ring on the ring finger. All these details are carefully repeated in both statues, which therefore formally appear rather similar. On closer examination it becomes clear, however, that they differ considerably in technical terms. One statue appears hard and busy because it is rich in contrast whereas the other statue looks soft and calm. There is extensive drill-work on one statue, creating an effect of a very strong, hard contrast between the individual locks particularly in the brushed up front hair and in the beard, but also in details of the eyes and the deeply drilled channel separating the lips. On the other statue modelling and incising are used to create plasticity and contrast and the overall appearance of the statue is much softer. The same technical differences observed in the heads of the two statues also apply to the bodies. Drill work is used to separate folds and create plasticity in the statue with much use of the drill in the head and vice versa. There is therefore a congruence between head and body and it can be assumed that the same sculptor made the whole piece. The difference between the two statues may be due to their being the work of two different sculptors.

Two portrait busts in Munich likewise showing the same Severan man but sculpted with different types of busts, evince a different situation. The one has a *paludamantum* bust and the other a toga bust and both were convincingly attributed by Boschung & Pfanner to the same workshop (plates 36–37).⁹⁹ The portrait heads are also the only known two copies of the representation of an otherwise unknown private individual. As they derive from the same Renaissance collection it is highly

Fig. 236

Himation statue of a man found by the temple of Apollo in Cyrene. This statue boasts strong contrasts in the treatment of details. Late Antonine period. Marble.

Height: 1.76 m.
Cyrene Museum.



Fig. 237

Detail of head of Fig. 236



Fig. 238

Detail of hand of Fig. 236



Fig. 239

Detail of ankle support of
Fig. 236.





Fig. 240
Detail of head of Fig. 241.



Fig. 241
Himation statue of a man almost identical to Fig. 236 and also found by the temple of Apollo in Cyrene. This statue shows a soft treatment of details. Late Antonine period. Height: 2.01 m. Cyrene Museum.



Fig. 242
Detail of hand of Fig. 241.



Fig. 243
Detail of ankle support of Fig. 241.



Plate 36

Bust of a man of the Severan period wearing *paludamentum*. Marble. Munich, Glyptothek.



Plate 37

Bust of the same man as Plate 36 wearing contabulated toga. Marble. Munich, Glyptothek.

Plate 38a

Life masks in plaster of Ole Andreas Olsen at the age of seventy-five. The toothless mouth, furrowed and sagging cheeks, wrinkled forehead and folds of loose skin surrounding the eyes feature both in the life masks and the Republican heads; the baldness links them even closer together.



Plate 38b

Head of Nero in bronze with gilding. Previously in the Axel Guttmann Collection. Present whereabouts unknown.



Plate 38c

Tombstone for Aurelius Felicianus. Height: 0.7 m; Width: 0.29 m. Plaster cast in Museo della Civiltà Romana, E.U.R.

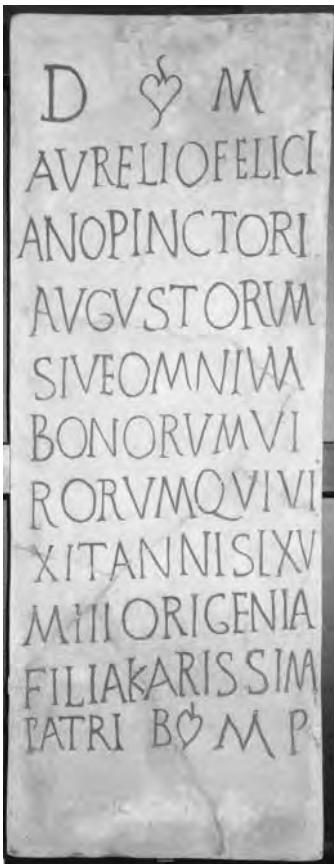


Plate 38d

Bust of a man wearing the heavy late antique *chlamys*. Found at the city gate in Stratoneikeia in Asia Minor. Probably fifth century A.D. Marble. Height: 0.72 m. Bodrum Museum.



likely that they were found together and therefore made in the same workshop. Although the portraits closely follow a single model, the style and technique of the portrait heads differ considerably. On the togatus bust the drill has been used extensively to separate individual locks and indicate details within the locks in both hair and beard. This gives the head a rather hard expression but it is rich in contrast and plasticity. The *paludamentum* portrait, however, has more details in the individual locks. Many edgy lines are applied by modelling and engraving (it was definitely never intended to receive drilled details). The *paludamentum* portrait seems softer and is less plastic and less rich in contrasts than the toga bust portrait. Boschung & Pfanner explain the difference between these two portraits that are possibly from the same workshop by attributing the busts to two different sculptors. They also see evidence of division of labour within the *paludamentum* bust. The drill was used in depicting neither the hair nor the beard but it was employed on the bust itself, on the fringes of the *paludamentum*. This is perhaps evidence for a different sculptor carving the bust. It is important to stress that the distribution of labour is confined within the workshop. Havé-Nikolaus, in her investigation on togate statues from Greece, has pointed out that the traditional concept of the Roman sculptural production as being mainly mass-produced is misleading. There is no evidence of large stocks or the export of ready-made sculptures such as togati from Rome to the provinces. She shows that the togati found in Greece were produced locally and that head and body were most likely carved in the same workshop.¹⁰⁰

Two examples of well-preserved groups of portrait bodies (all of which have missing heads) illustrate the uniformity and diversity that may obtain in the carving of body figures, in a particular workshop. The first example is a group of togati from the so-called marble forum in Merida in Spain constructed during the Claudian period.¹⁰¹ The square in which the statues were found was surrounded by columned porticos on top of which was a second *attica* storey. It has alternating reliefs of caryatids and *clipeii* and therefore clearly refers to the Forum of Augustus in Rome. The freestanding sculptures in question, which may be contemporary with the construction of the forum dated to the Claudian period or more likely somewhat later from the third quarter of the first century A.D., were placed in niches behind the portico.¹⁰² They include five well-preserved toga statues (and one fragment) all inscribed in ca. 1cm. high letters above the knee of the figures with the same signature “of Gaius Aulus’ workshop” (figs. 244–248).¹⁰³ Along with this group was found another unsigned male statue draped in a mantle but carrying the inscription “Agrippa” on the plinth and probably identifying the figure as Agrippa Menenius Lanatus one of the mythical kings of Alba Longa.

Fig. 244
Togatus found in the so-called Marble Forum in Merida. It is signed *Ex officina Gai A(uli)* above the left knee. Marble. Height: 1.89 m. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Merida.





Fig. 245
Togatus found in the so-called Marble Forum in Merida. It is signed above the left knee *Ex officina G(ai) Auli fi(---)o li(---)*.
Marble. Height: 1.9 m.
Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid.

Fig. 246

Togatus found in the so-called marble forum in Merida. It is signed above the left knee *Ex officina Gai Au(li)*. Marble. Height: 1.89 m. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Merida.





Fig. 247
Togatus found in the so-called Marble Forum in Merida. It is signed above the right knee *Ex officina Gai Auli*. Marble.
Height: 1.89 m. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Merida.

Fig. 248

Togatus found in the so-called Marble Forum in Merida. It is signed above the left knee *Ex officina Ga i Auli.* Marble. Height: 1.89 m. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Merida.



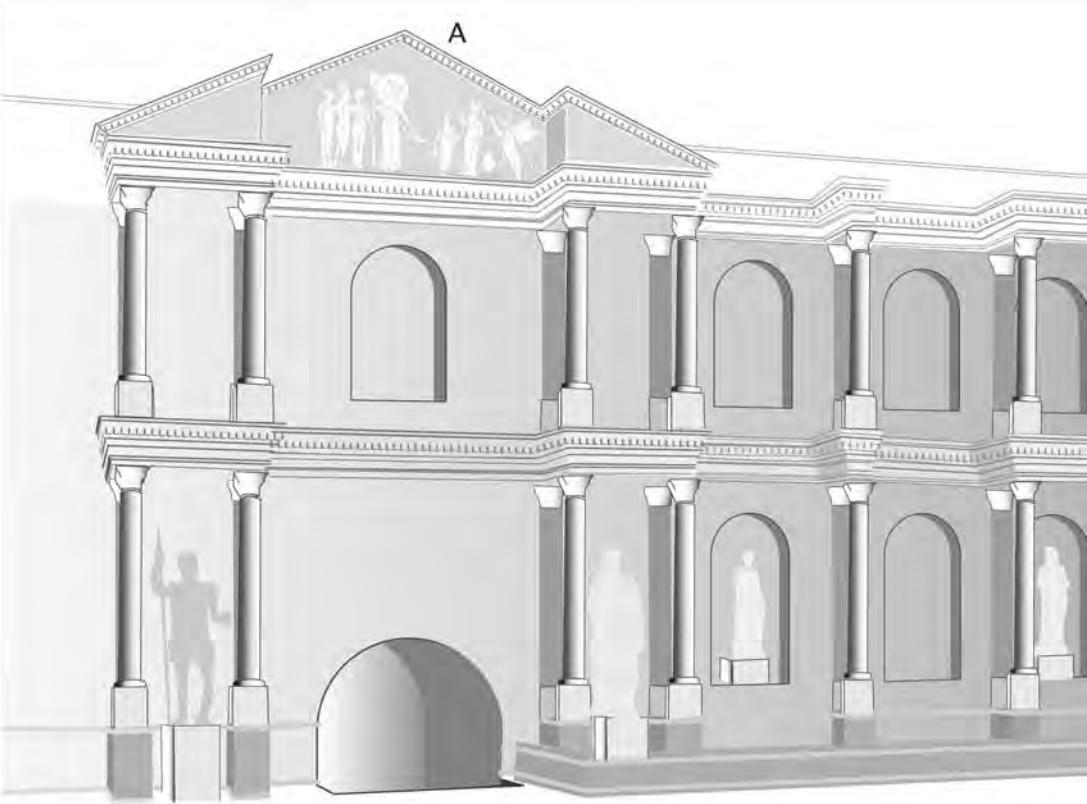
It is therefore possible that the togati also represent *summi viri* although an identification with local dignitaries cannot be excluded. The togati follow different statuary types but they also show striking differences in technical and stylistic details and in the overall expression. One of the figures (MNAR 33006; fig. 244) is extremely opulent and gives the impression that a large amount of material has been used to create the voluminous drapery and over-dimensioned *sinus*, which stands out in a large curved below the right thigh.¹⁰⁴ Two of the figures (MAN 34.431 and MNAR 33005; figs. 245–246) are related to the former in typology (they all rest their weight on the right leg) and stylistic and technical details such as the rough treatment of the ankle support in the shape of a tree-trunk; but they do not have the over-dimensioned *sinus* and they boast more details in the drapery especially over the arms. A fourth figure (MNAR inv. 94 fig. 247) rests the weight on the left leg, and has a different treatment of the ankle support; it shows many more and much sharper defined folds in particular over the right tight and in the vertical folds running from the right shoulder towards the *balteus*. The fifth togatus appears slim and is kept close within the block (MNAR 34.639 fig. 248).¹⁰⁵ The context of the togati suggests that they were made as a single commission and that the differences between them should not be explained as chronological but rather as relating to personal tastes; either those of the patrons represented, those who commissioned the togati, or the individual sculptors who produced them. Only the workshop signature, therefore, unites the five togate figures as a group. It therefore remains an open question, as discussed above, how to define an *oficina*. The group also demonstrates that even with a well-documented context identifying workshops is problematic.

The second example is an early imperial dynastic group found in a small apsidal room in the basilica on the north side of the forum at Lucus Feroniae, 20 km north of Rome.¹⁰⁶ None of the statues can be identified. Four out of the five female statues from the group are – in spite of their different statuary types and drapery – so similar in carving technique and formal details that they must be ascribed to the same workshop. One notes in particular the v-shaped fold above the u-shaped fold, which rests on the inset of the foot of the ‘Standbein’; the garland-like folds below the stomach; and the extreme long and simple folds on the back side, etc.

In short without contextual evidence we are often on shaky ground in identifying workshops. Workshop attributions based on stylistic grounds and even those based on technical parallels seem rather speculative. Such speculations are therefore not helpful for the wider question of the organization of workshops.¹⁰⁷

**Part Three:
The Empress and her
Fellow Elite Women**







Roman Women in Public

Dressing up a Roman Woman: statuary body types

We have seen how portraits of Roman men filled the public spaces of municipal and provincial cities. We now turn our attention towards Roman women. Women could not hold public offices except for priesthoods and only about ten per cent of the honorific statues in a municipal town represented women, as we have seen. Women were nevertheless visible in the cityscape in statuary representations as benefactresses and priestesses and in ‘real life’, as participants in public feasts and ceremonies.¹ Even though the role of the empress was quite different from that of a local priestess or benefactress, I will argue that from the first into the late third century A.D. an important aspect of women’s public image was the close relationship between the empress and her private fellow women. This close relationship is valid to such a degree that there is often an intentional difficulty in distinguishing visually between the empress and the private women. Imperial and private female portraits are therefore best studied together.

There are no ancient references to statuary representations of Roman women to match the inscription honouring Volusius Saturninus. The only ‘real’ female statuary type mentioned in the sources is the *stolata*, that is, a Roman matron wearing a *stola*.² While the wives and other female family members of Roman officials were honoured with statues in the Roman East from the early first century B.C. onwards, the earliest honorific statues of ‘real’ contemporary women in the West date from the very end of the Republic. However, at this time, when statues of women were so rare that the sources mention fewer than a handful, literary sources do occasionally refer to extraordinary statues commemorating mythical women of the Republican periods. One of these was an equestrian statue of the mythical Cloelia set up by the hostages whom she had freed from the Etruscan King Lars Porsenna.³ Another famous statue described as being of bronze, seated and wearing sandals,

Fig. 249
 Statue of a seated woman. The statue reflects the so-called Aphrodite-Olympias type perhaps dating back to the fifth century B.C. Marble. Height: 1.21 m. Rome, Museo Capitolino.



commemorated Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi (see fig. 5). This may originally have been displayed in the Porticus Metelli around 111 B.C. where it could have formed a pair with a seated marble statue of Venus by Phidias. It was seen by Pliny the Elder in Porticus Octaviae, the remodelled Porticus of the Metelli.⁴ However, ambiguity in the literary sources and the fact that the preserved inscribed statue base of Cornelia's seated statue probably dates to the Augustan period, suggest that the statue may not be older than that.⁵ The statue may have been erected during the early Augustan period as an *exemplum* evoking the idealised role of wife and mother described in Augustus' moral reforms and embodied in Octavia, the emperor's sister.⁶ Whether it is of Republican or Augustan date, the seated format of Cornelia's statue and its prominent location are indicative of Cornelia's outstanding, even supernatural mythical role as ancestor of the Gracchi (fig. 249).⁷ Before Cornelia there may not have been many 'real' Roman women honoured with statues in the West. In ca. 40 B.C. Fulvia, the first wife of Marcus Antonius, becomes the first living woman to have her portrait depicted on coins. These coins are struck in the Roman East however. But a portrait bust of Julia, Augustus' daughter, was shown between those of her two sons on the reverse of a denarius of Augustus which was struck at the mint of Rome in 13 B.C. Successive courtly ladies from now on regularly had their portrait on the reverse of the emperors' mint of Rome.

By the end of the Iulio-Claudian period it became normal practice that the empress also had her portrait on the obverse of the mint of Rome.⁸ Except for the early mythical statues of Roman women recorded in the literary sources, including that of Cornelia, the first honorific statues in Rome to 'real' contemporary women in Rome may be those which Octavian had granted to Livia and Octavia in 35 B.C. This is in spite of Pliny the Elder's statement that Cato (censor in 184 B.C.) spoke out against statues of women being erected in the East but could not prevent them from being set up in Rome.⁹ There was no tradition of honouring Roman women with statues in Rome at that time. The statues of Livia and Octavia may even have been set up as a reaction to a gilded statue, which Caesar had set up to Cleopatra.¹⁰

By the late Republican and early imperial periods, honorific statues were being granted to women in municipal and provincial towns in the West, sometimes for instance, as part of family groups. A group of late Republican bronze statues, secondarily buried but perhaps originally deriving from Forum Semprioni near Cartoceto (where the group was found), includes two equestrian male statues as well as two standing draped female statues in the guise of Pudicitia (see fig. 23–24). These obviously form a family group.¹¹ Likewise, the family group of the Balbii set up in the basilica in Herculaneum in the mid Augustan period included Balbus' father but also his mother Viciria. Viciria's portrait shows her as wrinkled old matron in the guise of Pudicitia (see fig. 142). She is wrapped up completely in her large mantle which suggests that her role is that of being the honourable and chaste ancestor of Balbus. In contrast, the portrait of his father is marked only moderately by age. He is dressed in a toga to express openness and resolution.¹²

Apart from the early mythical women of the Republican period who are supposed to have been represented in unusual statuary formats, Roman women were almost always represented standing when displayed in a public context (as with Viciria). While seated and reclining postures were not uncommon in a funerary context, the seated format was rare in public. The seated statue of Cornelia suggests her special role as an *exemplum* for Augustus' moral policy. It was otherwise used primarily for illustrating the outstanding power of the imperial couple. This is especially the case when the empress is seated as the goddess Juno next to the emperor in the guise of Jupiter. When private women were represented in public in the seated format this may have been an allusion to their role presiding over games, and spectacles and religious ceremonies.¹³ The seated format could also signify the educated and intellectual side of a woman.¹⁴ A statue of a seated woman of the Severan period in the Vatican Museums shows a small relief scene depicting a



Fig. 250
Seated statue of a late
Severan woman. The
seated philosopher de-
picted in relief on her
stool refers to her intel-
lectual activities. Marble.
Height: 1.32 m. Vatican
Museums, Cortile
Ottagono.

Fig. 251
Detail of the stool
Fig. 250.

seated philosopher reading his book scroll on one side of the chair (figs. 250–251). The relief decoration of the chair no doubt alludes to the intellectual interests of the woman portrayed. Women who engaged in philosophy and writing were on one hand considered to be a confirmation of the high social status on their spouse. On the other, educated women were thought to be prone to showing off, at least according to Seneca and Lucian, and “a learned wife added to the prestige but not enjoyments of life”.¹⁵ The Vatican statue most probably derives from a funerary context and it might have been deemed unsuitable as a public image of a Roman woman.¹⁶ Even the empress Julia Domna, who was famous as patroness of a ‘literary circle,’ was not represented in poses referring to that aspect of her life.¹⁷

Because Roman women could not hold public offices – *feminae ab omnibus officiis civilibus vel publicis remotae sunt*¹⁸ – there were no mortal or ‘real’ female costumes which distinguished rank except for the *stola*. The *stola* was a full-length “petticoat”, worn over the tunica or *chiton* and usually under the *palla*, a large mantle. It featured in a number of different statuary types, signifying the woman’s rank and marital status. It was made from an oblong piece of woollen material sown into a cylinder, which was slipped over the woman’s body. It covered the body completely from the neckline to the ankles, and was suspended from straps with metal clasps on either shoulder. These clasps, perhaps identical with the *instita* mentioned in literary sources, were probably originally picked out in paint or gilding. They are often the only indication in statuary representation that the woman wore the *stola*.¹⁹ In real life its thick material was supposed to cover any bodily curves but in statuary representations it is translucent, revealing the woman’s breasts and navel. In this sense, the statuary depictions of the *stola* are quite different from the *stola* as worn in real life. The garment, which is known in literary sources from the late second century B.C. on, was restricted to married Roman citizens when worn in public.²⁰ During the first century A.D. it seems to have become a symbol of married women of the senatorial class, the *clarissima femina*.²¹ The *stola* did not always feature in the statuary representation however, and already by the end of the first century A.D. it had gone out of fashion. Apart from the *stola* Roman women were represented in a variety of ‘unreal’ costumes in their statues.²² Statuary types for Roman women not only reflected the costumes but also the overall statuary poses of heavily draped classical goddesses.²³ They may be divided into six main categories, comprising the so-called Ceres type, the Pudicitia type, the Small and Large Herculanean Women types and the so-called Shoulder-bundle and Hip-bundle-types (figs. 252–262). Variations were significant. The statuary type *par excellence* of the Late Republic was the ‘Pudicitia type’, in which the woman was completely wrapped up in a large mantle. This covered the back of her head and both her arms; she rested her bowed head on her bent right arm. The ‘Pudicitia type’ was often represented in the *stola*. It enjoyed a brief revival in the Trajanic period but its use was mainly confined to the Republican period. It featured primarily in a funerary context, though not always, as the statue of Vicia mentioned above shows. With the exception of Sabina, the empress did not employ this type in her self-representation (figs. 263–264). The bowed head of the Pudicitia type has even been taken as an expression of mourning.²⁴ Women in the East from the Hellenistic period into the third century A.D. on continued to be represented in the Small and Large Herculanean Women types. Perhaps

Fig. 252

Statue of Julia Domna in the guise of Ceres. Found in Ostia near the *décumanus maximus*. This was a statuary type equally popular among imperial and private women. Marble. Height: 1.95 m. Ostia, Museo Ostiense.

Fig. 253

Statue of a woman in the guise of Ceres. We do not know whether the ancient viewer associated the statue with the deity for whom the type was originally conceived; probably not. Trajanic. Marble. Height: 1.84 m. Munich, Glyptothek.



already from the Hellenistic period, the Small and Large Herculanean women types were the female equivalent of the male himation statue, indicating that the subject was a civilian and denoting specific features of cultural identity.²⁵ However, as an Antonine funerary relief in Cairo shows, one should be careful with excessively general interpretations.²⁶ In this relief which portrays a married couple on either side of the figure of an elderly man, the woman deploying the Large Herculanean statuary type is paired with the portrait of a man in toga, while the woman portrayed in the Pudicitia statuary type is paired with a man in himation.



Fig. 254
Under life-size statue of a woman in the guise of the so-called Large Herculanean Woman. Antonine period. Marble. Height: 1.48 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Fig. 255
Local version of a woman in the guise of the so-called Large Herculanean Woman. From Apulum, Alba Iulia in modern Romania. Antonine period. Marble. Height: 1.9 m. Sibi?, Museum Brukenthal.

The Small and Large Herculanean types never became as popular in the West as they were in the East and neither private women nor empresses favoured them. It has been suggested though, that versions which have the so-called idealized heads and classical melon hairstyles may in fact be representations of 'real' women.²⁷ The fact that some 'ideal' athletic statues may be honorific representations of 'real' victorious athletes was discussed above. A similar phenomenon is possible for some of the female statues with idealized heads. In Italian municipal towns an increasing number of honorific statues included women during the first and second centuries A.D. The demand for statuary representation of

Fig. 256
Statue of a woman in the
guise of the so-called
Small Herculanean
Woman. Antonine period.
Marble. Height: 1.8 m.
Ostia, Museo Ostiense.

Fig. 257
Statue of a woman in the
same guise and near con-
temporary as Fig. 256.
Although the carving of
the drapery is vivid it
does not reveal any of the
woman's curves. Marble.
Athens, National
Museum.



the empress also became significant. These factors meant that a large variety of new (and old) statuary types were created for women in the West. According to Alexandridis' catalogue of statuary representations of Roman imperial women from Livia to Julia Domna, well over 40 different statuary types were employed for representing imperial women during that period, let alone 24 types of the Iulio-Claudian period plus additional variations of the so-called Shoulder-bundle or 'Schulterbausch Typus' types.²⁸ The Roman emperor used only a couple of standard statuary formats, body types, and attributes. None of these may have been exclusively reserved for the emperor but they were certainly rarely



Fig. 258
Statue of a woman with her mantle arranged in a bundle across the shoulder. Found in Herculaneum. Last quarter of the first century B.C. Marble. Height: 1.71 m. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

used by private individuals in public settings (i.e. the nude and Jupiter guise). A number of attributes, the *corona civica* and the *corona radiata*, for example, were straightforward imperial insignia. This standardization, and to a certain extent exclusivity in representations of the emperor, implies that the more clearly defined the image of the emperor, the more powerful its effect. Not so with the empress. Not only were most of her attributes also worn by private women, but she was also depicted in a large range of body types, just as private women were. Why was that so? Was it because the role of the empress was not important enough for the central government to be concerned with her imagery,

Fig. 259

The empress Agrippina Minor in a so-called Hip-bundle statuary type. This is an open body pose, which is similar to the body poses of Roman men. Marble. Height: 1.86 m. Petworth House.



so that it was left to those who commissioned the statues to choose a statuary type? Or because it was important that the image of the empress blended with those elite senatorial women or rich benefactresses who were privileged to have their statues displayed in provincial cities' public spaces? The portrait images that these statues carried may help to clarify the problem. A strikingly close relationship seems to have existed between the portrait heads of the empress and those of her fellow elite women as we will see.

There were certain chronological and geographical preferences for certain statuary types, most notably the so-called Ceres type which was con-



Fig. 260
Detail of the heavily re-
stored head of Agrippina
Minor Fig. 259 but note
the clasps for the stola
on her shoulder.

fined to the second century A.D. West. Women may have been strongly involved with the cult of Ceres, in which chastity and motherhood were central concerns. The bunch of corn which many of the Ceres statues held emphasized the fertility of the *patrona*. Sabina was assimilated to Ceres in the Roman mint and the popularity of that statuary type with empresses of the second century may have increased the frequency of its use among private people.²⁹ The empress and private women basically drew on the same statuary types. Some statuary types may have been used initially by an imperial lady and then quickly copied by private women but equally, the empress may have picked up on trends already established by private women. Alexandridis argues that statuary types and their attributes functioned to express five main elements in the gendered role of the empress, including the following: 1. the role of wife and mother, 2. priesthood and prosperity, 3. representations as Venus which referred to marriage and motherhood, 4. Iuno as parallel to the emperor as Jupiter, and finally 5. the military.³⁰ These paradigmatic roles were also heavily propagated in coinage. Almost all empresses were assimilated with Felicitas, Concordia, Pietas and Fortuna. The coinage also indicates particular concerns. Thus, the frequent use of *eternitas imperii* in the coinage of Julia Domna no doubt refers to a desired stability for future rule that would include her two sons, heirs and predestined co-rulers.³¹ *Fecunditas* and the concern for heirs were themes especially propagated on the coinage of Faustina Minor while they are absent from the coins of the Trajanic women.³² Some of these concepts, however, particularly that of the roles of wife and mother, and the themes of *fecunditas* and marriage, overlap with each other. For this reason it is diffi-

Fig. 261

Statue of Livia in a typical Hip-bundle statuary type. She wears a diadem and carries a *cornucopia*.

These attributes were reserved for imperial women only during the Iulio-Claudian period. Note also her 'Greek' sandals. Found at Puteoli. Marble. Height: 2.2 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 262

Statue of a woman in the guise of Pudicitia found in the necropolis outside the Herculanean Gate in Pompeii. She may wear the legendary Republican *tutulus* hairstyle.

Second half of the first century B.C. Marble. Height: 2.1 m. Pompeii, Antiquario.



cult to decipher why, for example, the Large Herculanean Woman type should have been used to express the role of wife and mother and why the Hip-and Shoulder-bundle types should have expressed priesthood and prosperity rather than the chaste wife. A few types are attested for the empress only but whether this means that these were reserved for the imperial women remains unknown.³³ Statues in divine guise were reserved for the empress only until the end of the Iulio-Claudian period when the so-called private apotheoses first appear; only representations of the enthroned Juno may have remained the privilege of the empress.³⁴ Accordingly, there were a number of sculptural types on which the imperial women did not usually draw, most significantly those of Pudicitia and the Small Herculanean Woman.³⁵ In addition, there is no evidence that imperial women were ever represented in the nude.³⁶ Representations of female nudity seem generally to have been absent



Fig. 263
Empress Sabina in the guise of Pudicitia completely wrapped up in her drapery. It was found in the theatre of Vaison-La-Romaine in modern France juxtaposed with a statue of her husband Hadrian in the nude. Marble. Height: 2.06 m. Vaison Museum.

Fig. 264
Hadrian in the nude from the theatre of Vaison-La-Romaine. Marble. Height (without plinth): 2.1 m. Vaison Museum.

from public spaces but were popular in funerary contexts (see above p. 125). By and large, however, it appears that the empress and her kinswomen did not stand out from private women in statuary types.³⁷ The extensive use of the *stola* during the Julio-Claudian period and the Ceres type during the second century by both the imperial and private women reinforced the close relationship. The diversity of statuary types or rather of ways of arranging the drapery, suggests that the choice of body figure may have been a compromise between local traditions and preferences, as well as more general ideologies and trends. The use of a specific statuary type could have been bound to local workshop traditions, the availability of models, the sculptor's repertoire or imagination, and other factors; the choice may also have reflected local female cults

as suggested by numismatic evidence for the empress;³⁸ and it may have followed general trends expressing traditional moral feminine values prevalent at the court in Rome. Personal preferences may also have played a significant role. A number of the statuary types, most notably the Hera Borghese and Kore Albani, but also different Hip-bundle variations which were introduced during the Early and Middle Empire, show a much more open body language than the Republican Pudicitia.³⁹ The direction of the head has changed and the gaze of the eyes is often in more direct contact with the viewer. The arms may be raised or depicted reaching out. The stance is wider and rather than enclosing the body, the drapery reveals its shapes.⁴⁰ While the tightly-draped statuary types of the Large and Small Herculanean Women remained popular in the eastern part of the Empire, the statues with more open poses which were evocative of male statuary seem to have been more common in the West. It is possible that women in the East who were praised in public inscriptions for their feminine domestic virtues in terms similar to the praise in their tomb epigrams, were represented in traditional Hellenistic body types, which concealed the body beneath enclosing garments. In the West, however, where women were praised in public very differently from their tomb epigrams but more like their male benefactors and honorands, new, more authoritative and commanding statuary types were preferred.⁴¹

Imperial women were not easily distinguishable from private women in statuary types. However, the attributes held in the hand, such as the *cornucopia*, *patera* or a bunch of ears of corn, or the special adornment of the head with a wreath, diadem or *vitta* (a woollen ribbon), imbued the statue with its specific meaning. Some of these attributes seem to have been reserved for imperial women during the Early Empire, but already by the Claudian period they were deployed by private women as well. Yet size, material, setting and, not least, the way in which the statue was honoured (as for example in the imperial cult) could still make a statue of an empress stand out from those of her fellow women.⁴² Compared to the relatively clear messages which a limited number of statuary types of the emperor (and private men) conveyed, the statuary types of imperial women, and their fellow private women are much less transparent. Except for very general gendered connotations such as chastity, fertility and motherhood, the factors that determined the choice between one Greek goddess statuary type and the other for the representation of an empress or a private woman still remain relatively unknown. However, common to all the different statuary representations of Roman women is the fact that they were not 'real'. This is because the costumes and the way in which they were draped were characteristic of images of goddesses rather than of normal women. The Roman viewer may not

have associated a particular statuary type and its variants with the goddess whom it originally represented, but its costume was probably clearly distinguishable from the everyday dress which a woman wore during her appearance in public. Even though individual garments, the tunica and the *palla*, were the same in statuary formats as those worn in real life, the differences must have been striking.⁴³ The real tunica would have been of a thicker and less revealing material; the mantle would have been much smaller and more manageable if the woman did not wear the *paenula*, a kind of poncho.⁴⁴ Compensating for this, the classical statuary formats of Roman women were often combined with typical Roman symbols of status and function. Many women wore the *palla capite velato*, drawn over the back of their head and possibly signifying their chastity and pietas. It could have evoked similar representations of the Vestal Virgins. They may also have worn the *stola*, mentioned above.⁴⁵ In statuary Roman women usually (though not always) discarded sandals and replaced them with proper Roman closed shoes, *calcei muliebres*. They also often omitted the attributes such as ears of corn and poppies, and they might sport *vittae*, designating chastity and purity, in their hair. However, even such additions or omissions did not prevent the visual impact of the statuary representation of a Roman woman from being artificial. As we have seen, this was not the case for Roman men. During the imperial period, most private men were represented in statuary in the same costumes that they would also have worn in real life in public. These distinctions indicate that there was a clear intention to differentiate strongly between the 'real' Roman woman and statuary representations of those few who held outstanding positions in the city.

The reason for this may be found in the social structures of Roman society. Women belonged to the lowest level of society and ranked below freedmen, regardless of high birth or wealth. They could not hold public offices, and ancient sources make it clear that women should not participate in public life. In theory at least, they were not acceptable as part of public life.⁴⁶ Male unease regarding the presence of women in public was probably widespread, and the artificial statuary representation of Roman women served to maintain their absence.⁴⁷ It set the patrons apart from ordinary women and the risk of endangering social structures and gender roles of women in private and public was thereby reduced.

Another aspect of the statuary representation of women in public that differed from the self-representation of real women, was the absence of jewellery as adornment on female statues in public settings across the Empire. Going back perhaps to the Lex Oppia (215 B.C.) and the Lex Iulia (46 B.C.), which was aimed at the exhibition of opulence, there

Plate 39a
 Tondo painting depicting the Severan imperial family. Julia Domna is heavily adorned with jewellery. From Egypt.
 Tempera on wooden panel. Diameter: 0.31 m.
 Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Plate 39b
 Funerary stele of the imperial freedman Flavius Pinitus and his wife Flavia Alcimis (CIL VI 18168). She wears heavy earrings and a string of pearls around her neck. Late Flavian to early Trajanic. Marble. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano.



are hardly any statues of imperial or private women intended for a public display that boast plastically indicated jewellery until Late Antiquity. Few images have pierced ears for ear pendants and even fewer sport hairpins or hairnets.⁴⁸ Even though it is sometimes claimed that jewellery could have been painted onto the sculpted representations, it is hardly likely that this was the case. Decent women did not wear jewellery in public and this included both the empress and private women.⁴⁹ Jewellery was considered to be an evil, unless a woman was selling her jewellery to protect family interests. It was associated with immorality and adultery – *impudicitia* and *immodicitia*.⁵⁰ The mythical vestal virgin Tarpeia, who desired her enemy's bracelet, was seen as an example of unregulated female behaviour endangering the community.⁵¹ Immoderate adornment would render a woman publicly visible. The only piece of jewellery she would occasionally wear in public was a finger ring that indicated rank. But the 'real world' was different. Jewellery had less definite connotations, and it was neither freely permitted nor wholly frowned upon. It was a symbol of status, and the value of a single piece could move your family from the equestrian into the senatorial order.⁵² Finds from Pompeii and across the Empire demonstrate the popularity of precious jewellery



Fig. 265
Gem stone with portrait of Julia Titi wearing drop earrings, necklace and stola. Signed by Euodos. Aquamarine. Height: 0.05 m. The mounting is not ancient. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Fig. 266
Cameo with portrait of an imperial Iulio-Claudian woman wearing *stola*, laurel wreath and *infula* around her head and ear-ring. Brown and white sardonyx. Height: 0.06 m.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

among Roman women. Sculpted and painted images and representations in miniature show that outside the public eye women were adorned. Funerary sculpture and paintings portray women who are often heavily loaded with jewellery and even the empress was adorned with jewellery for a private contexts (plate 39b).⁵³ Miniature gems often show her wearing jewellery, and the famous painted tondo of the Severan imperial family (which probably derives from a private context in Egypt) likewise (figs. 265–266).⁵⁴ Julia Domna is depicted in the tondo wearing a diadem decorated with gem stones, a thick, sparkling string of white pearls around her neck and heavy pearl pendent earrings (plate 39a).⁵⁵ Fabric of women's garments may also have woven in gold threads (fig. 267).⁵⁶

Attitudes towards jewellery changed dramatically in Late Antiquity. By the second half of the third century the number of statues commemorating both imperial and private women declined drastically, and



Fig. 267
Cinerary urn commemorating Sellia Epyre who was AVRIVESTRIX, manufacturer and seller of garments with gold (CIL VI 9214). Marble. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

Fig. 268
Detail of the belt of Fig. 269 adorned with strings of pearls and a big centre gemstone from which four pendants are suspended.





Fig. 269
Statue of an empress re-
stored into a muse. The
stance is traditional but
she wears a gemstone
belt and in her left hand
she holds the *orarium* or
handkerchief, a symbol
of high birth. Fourth
century A.D. Marble.
Height: 1.68 m. Naples,
Museo Nazionale.

Fig. 270

White marble statue of an empress of the fourth or fifth century A.D. The borders of the drapery were inlaid separately, probably in a coloured stone. Found in Cyprus.

Height: 0.78 m. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Fig. 271

Detail of Fig. 270 with cuttings separately inlaid borders on the drapery.



there was extensive reuse of earlier body figures during the period that followed.⁵⁷ From the fourth century on, when new body types for Roman women were produced, they show different ways of arranging the drapery, with extensive use of jewellery and belts with gemstones and pearls or cuttings for ornaments of jewellery and drapery borders that were added separately (figs. 268–271).⁵⁸ From the second half of the third century, plastically indicated jewellery became common. A number of portrait heads have hairpins, diadems adorned with gemstones and earrings (figs. 272–274).⁵⁹ During the Early and Middle Empire, objects of adornment were perceived as negative and considered attributes of the



female gender. But in Late Antiquity when the emperor also deployed a diadem heavily adorned with precious stones and pearls, jewellery became a means for designating social rather than gender differentiation.⁶⁰ The strong concern of the imperial court for creating distance from 'ordinary' people can also be observed in female portrait styles, which became more veristic. This is discussed in more detail below.

The question which I now turn to focuses on the following paradox: How can the portrait heads of Roman women, with their dazzling, frequently-changing hairstyles, be reconciled with the dismissal of adornment and the promotion of a body language epitomizing modesty and chastity, which the same statues also embody?

Head and hair

The manner in which physiognomy was employed to distinguish one individual from another has been discussed. In female portraits personal identity was usually suppressed and replaced by an idealizing beauty, which was perceived by the Romans as a virtue.⁶¹ Idealization in no way excluded individuality, as some female portraits with strong physiog-

Fig. 272
Portrait probably of an empress wearing a diadem which has a string of pearls and a row of gemstones. There are holes on top of the diadem for the insertion of additional real stones. She also wears large pearl earrings. Late fourth to early fifth century A.D. Marble. Height: 0.34 m. Como, Museo Civico.

Fig. 273
Portrait of an early Byzantine empress (Theodora?) wearing a diadem with strings of pearls and a central gemstone from which three pearls are suspended. Marble. Height: 0.27 m. Milan, Museo d'Arte Antica.



Fig. 274
Profile of head Fig. 273
showing holes for attachment of real pearls.

nomies demonstrate, but it seems without doubt that female portraits were more idealized than male – often to such an extent that it is difficult to decide whether a goddess or a mortal woman is represented (figs. 275–277).⁶²

Cultus was the most powerful and dramatic visual message

a Roman woman could espouse and was also an important element in the construction of gender differences. It defined a woman in a more material and more outward way than it did men. As jewellery was not an issue in statuary, the gorgeous hairstyles in all their variety constituted the most conspicuous part of Roman female portraiture. Further, the hairstyle of a woman may have been the only part of her statuary image which corresponded to her appearance in real life. Hairstyle constituted an important element in a woman's status and lifestyle.⁶³ Women's hairstyles became more and more luxurious and elaborate in the first century, culminating in the luxury and sophistication of the Flavian to the early Hadrianic period. Artificial hair imported from exotic places such as Germania and scented with perfumes from the Orient was needed to create the toupee hairstyles. Slave-girls must have been occupied for hours at their mistresses' toilette creating small corkscrew-curls and fixing other details.⁶⁴ Images of women of the late first and early second



Fig. 275
Portrait bust of a woman. She is toothless with sagging lips and has strong naso-labial furrows. Trajanic. Marble. Height: 0.54 m. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Ingresso.



centuries A.D., with their luxuriously built-up hairstyles, do indeed contrast with the rather harsh expression in images of Flavian, Trajanic and early Hadrianic men. Likewise, when Hadrian grew a beard and wore long and curly locks, the empress, Sabina, changed her hair to a plain, almost classical style. Female hairstyles thereafter remained rather simple; at the same time the hairstyles of men reached a climax in luxury as we see in the portraiture of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, with their long curly hair and beards that have been executed with great technical skill and an exquisite handling of the drill (figs. 278–281). This radical change in female fashions may thus be seen not only as a contrast to earlier female fashions but also as a contrast to current male ones.⁶⁵

Although in the second century they are rather plain, more generally female hairstyles show endless variations. By the second quarter of the third century this variation slows down and is replaced by the stereotypical female portrait which changes very little. However, in spite of variations and the occasional preference for an earlier hairstyle, a strikingly close relationship seems to have existed between the portrait of the empress and that of her fellow women, regarding both the idealized facial beauty and the changing hairstyles. This is the case already in the

Fig. 276
Portrait of a woman of the Hadrianic period. Without the elaborate fashion hairstyle one would hardly interpret the idealized features and the slightly open mouth of the head as a portrait. Marble. Height: 0.49 m. Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti.

Fig. 277
Elaborate hairstyle of a woman of the Hadrianic period. Marble. Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti.

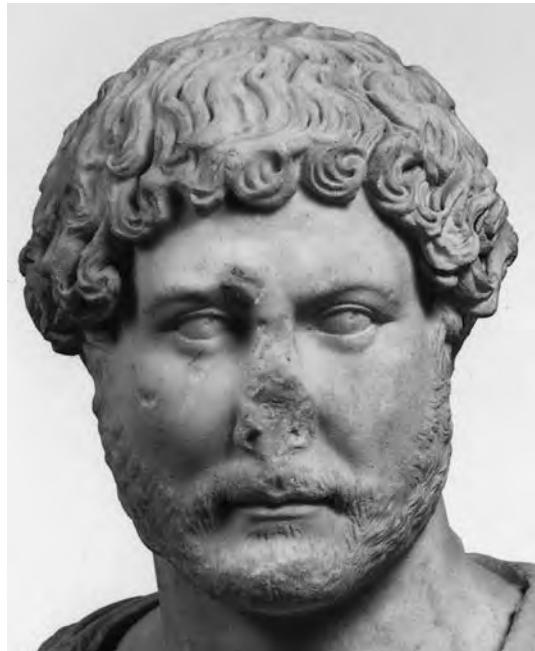


Fig. 278
Portrait of Hadrian. Marble. Height: 0.73 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 279
Portrait of Sabina. Marble. Height: 0.38 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 280
Portrait of Marcus Aurelius in his third type with luxuriant, curly hair and beard. Marble. Height: 0.33 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 281
Portrait of Faustina Minor in one of her numerous portrait types depicting her with a very plain hairstyle. Marble. Height: 0.31 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Augustan period.⁶⁶ It could be argued that this may be because of the impact of the 'period face' as a result of which private female portraits were mere versions of the empress portrait. However, that this is not the sole explanation is evident from the fact that the 'period face' is also a significant phenomenon in private male portraits. We have seen however that male portraits never came so close typologically to the emperor's image as did female portraiture. Because of their suppressed physiognomy and typologically identical hairstyles, portraits of the empress and those of private women are often so similar that they are difficult to distinguish from each other.⁶⁷ A prominent example is the portraiture of Livia. In recent publications on this subject, the number of portraits in which Livia has been identified has been enlarged from ca. 50 to over 100.⁶⁸ One may wonder, though, how many of the images identified as Livia may in fact be private portraits.⁶⁹ The same phenomenon of similarity between portraits of the empress and those of private women can be observed over a long period: Comparison of portraits of private women with portraits of Antonia Minor⁷⁰, Agrippina Maior,⁷¹ Agrippina Minor,⁷² Messalina, Domitia,⁷³ Sabina,⁷⁴ Matidia,⁷⁵ Faustina Maior,⁷⁶

Fig. 282
Bust of Livia wearing
stola. Liverpool Museum.
Marble. Height: 0.42 m.

Fig. 283
Bust of a private woman
wearing *stola*. Found in
the Licinean Tomb.
Marble. Height: 0.44 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek.



Fig. 284
Detail of head from a
statue of Antonia Minor
found in a *nymphaeum* by
Baiae with statues of
other members of the
Julio-Claudian imperial
family. Castello di Baia.

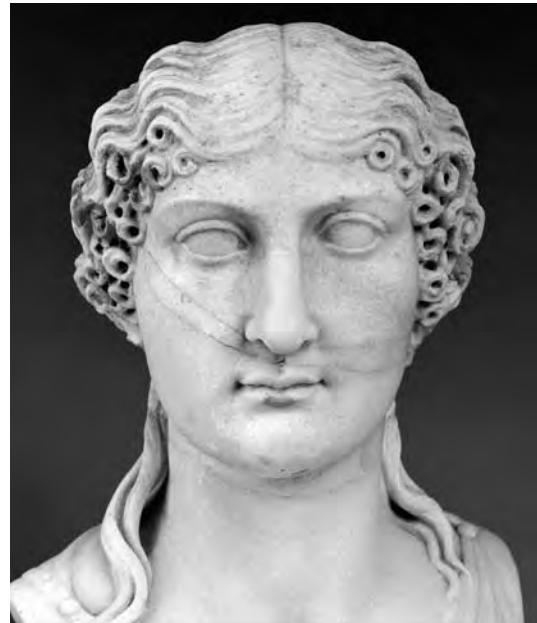
Fig. 285
Portrait of a private
woman. Marble. Height
of head and neck: 0.35 m.
Florence, Galleria degli
Uffizi.



Faustina Minor,⁷⁷ Julia Domna,⁷⁸ Julia Mamaea⁷⁹, Octacilia Severa show the same phenomenon (figs. 282–301).

With the declining number of statues of both imperial and private women and the difficulty in distinguishing between imperial and private portraits, this phenomenon cannot be followed beyond the mid-third century. However, an apparent interest in more pronounced physiognomy can be observed in portraits of Roman empresses already from the second half of the third century. Occasionally in portraits of Roman empresses of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. it is seen behind the conventional over-emphasised eyes in a wrinkled forehead and flabby cheeks. Such portraits may be interpreted as evincing a new desire to set the empress apart from private women. A similar concern for distancing the empress from ordinary women can also be seen in the deployment of jewellery; and physiognomic details support this.⁸⁰

It is usually assumed that the empress was setting the trends and that private women imitated her fashions.⁸¹ However, it seems that during the Early and High Empire there were no attempts to set the empress apart from her fellow elite women. On the contrary, much more variation can be observed in private portraits. Some women surely did not care about the ideal beauty represented by images of the empress. A substantial number of female portraits show not only an individuated physiognomy but also definite signs of old age.⁸² The same can be observed in hairstyles: when the empress had a plain hairstyle some pri-



vate women continued to wear luxuriously built-up toupees, styled with multiple small snail curls.⁸³ Choice of hairstyle seems to have been independent of rank, as we have already seen in the opulent hairstyle of the freedwoman Staia Quinta from the Nemi group, signalling bourgeois wealth and opulence, prosperity and even fertility.⁸⁴ This does not change the fact that the portraiture of the empress made certain hairstyles more popular. Her hairstyles were copied all over the Empire and percolated down into society. But the empress did not have either a specific portrait typology, nor a strong physiognomy, nor particular statuary types which were used only by her. There were only very few attributes reserved for her, and this practice was confined to the early imperial period. All this strongly suggests again that there was no attempt to set her out from her fellow women. The similarities which seem to obtain between her portraits and portraits of private women were an important – and intentional – feature of the public image of the Roman empress.

The role of the empress was of course very different from that of private women. She appeared at public events in person. Her position was that of wife, consort, and mother of the male members of the imperial family, being essential to dynastic continuation. Her role thus had both religious and political dimensions. The empress' statues were often displayed alongside those of her husband and/or those of her sons; inscriptions honouring Roman empresses designate family relations

Fig. 286
Portrait of Agrippina
Maior. Marble. Height:
0.36 m. Paris, Louvre.

Fig. 287
Portrait of a private
woman styled as Agrip-
pina Maior. Marble.
Height: 0.24 m. Vatican
Museums, Galleria
Chiaramonti.



Fig. 288
Portrait of Messalina. Marble. Height: 0.32 m. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie.



Fig. 289
Private woman styled as Messalina. Marble. Height (chin to crown): 0.26 m. Cyrene Museum.



Fig. 290
Portrait of Domitia Longina. Marble. Height: 0.3 m. Paris, Louvre.



Fig. 291
Private woman styled as Domitia Longina. Marble. Height: 0.28 m. Paris, Louvre.



through marriage rather than through genealogy.⁸⁵ She was worshipped as a goddess with a cult, she was assimilated with a number of important female divinities. With the increasingly significant role of the military her titles were extended and she became mother of the army.⁸⁶ But even when the empress appeared on state reliefs, which she did only rarely, it was in a uniquely recognizable aspect of linking the public to the private world, as Natalie Kampen has convincingly argued:⁸⁷ the prominent role of the Severan empress Julia Domna on the arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna may be seen in that context. Against a background of the usual entourage surrounding imperial presence on state reliefs Julia Domna watches at a distance as her husband and sons perform an act of *concordia Augustorum* for the state. Handshaking, *dextrarum junctio*, was however also a typical motif used by private citizens in representing affection between husband and wife. On the Ara Pacis, women and children of the imperial family may be seen as images of ideal familial and private behaviour, responsibly producing legitimate heirs. These imperial family scenes and family group portraits also epitomized the Roman family as a symbol of Roman law and order as opposed to foreign lawlessness.⁸⁸ The same arch also boasts a panel showing the empress participating in a sacrifice. Julia Domna is here acting in the only role in which private élite women could in principle enter the public stage – that of priestesses.⁸⁹

Who were these women with whom the empress seems to interact so closely? Some women represented in these private portraits were surely

Fig. 292
Over life-size portrait of Matidia. Marble. Height: 0.45 m. Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini.

Fig. 293
Portrait of an older woman. She wears a hairstyle identical to that worn by Matidia. Marble. Height: 0.23 m. Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Fig. 294
Portrait of Faustina Maior. Marble. Height: 0.3 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 295
Private woman styled similarly to Faustina Maior.
Marble. Height of head and neck: 0.29 m. Madrid,
Museo del Prado.



Fig. 296
Portrait of Julia Domna. Marble. Height: 0.27 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 297
Portrait of a private woman styled as Julia Domna. Mar-
ble. Height (with bust): 0.63 m. Rome, Palazzo Corsini.



Fig. 298
Portrait of Julia Mamaea. Marble. Height: 0.22 m.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



Fig. 299
Portrait of a private woman styled as Julia Mamaea.
Marble. Height of head and neck: 0.29 m. Rome, Palazzo Corsini.



Fig. 300
Portrait of Octacilia Severa. Marble. Height: 0.26 m.
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini.



Fig. 301
Portrait of a private woman styled as Octacilia Severa.
Marble. Height: 0.26 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

her kinswomen, but another group of women who held a strong position in Rome were the *clarissimae feminae*, the wives of the senators.⁹⁰ For the Early Empire it has been suggested on the basis of literary and epigraphic evidence that the empress played a vital part in the network which connected the social orders with the emperor.⁹¹ Roman senators and their families were bound to Rome for the first many years of their careers and they cared about their self-representation in their images.⁹² It seems reasonable to identify senatorial women in some of these portraits but particular hairstyles and body types were not confined to any specific social class, as was mentioned above. Only 10% of the public honorific statues in municipal towns in Italy represented women and a similar pattern is probably valid for most provincial towns too. A well-documented example from Perge in Pamphylia demonstrates, however, that figures and statistics cannot account for all situations. Immediately after entering the southern gate of Perge, the visitor would have seen on his left-hand side a monumental *nymphaeum* (Nymphaeum F2) with a long two-storied theatre-like façade hiding the east wall of the baths (fig. 302).⁹³ Dedicated to Artemis Pergeia and the Severan imperial family the facade was adorned with a small pedimental relief above an entrance giving access to the baths. The pediment shows Artemis surrounded by priestesses and devotees. Freestanding statues of the imperial family were placed in the niches along the facade. The *nymphaeum* was dedicated, constructed and paid for by Aurelia Paulina, priestess of Artemis Pergeia and also (with her husband) priestess in the imperial cult of the neighbouring town. The sources do not tell us anything definite about Paulina's origin but considering her benefactions she must have been a very wealthy woman. She was probably of Syrian birth having been granted Roman citizenship by Commodus a decade earlier when she erected a statue to him in gratitude.⁹⁴ It seems likely that the female person standing next to Artemis on the pedimental relief is Paulina herself (Figure A in the reconstruction drawing fig. 302). She is dressed in a typical Syrian costume with a veil falling onto her forehead and heavy jewellery, including a long chain with a large shell pendent, associated with Artemis around her neck. Not only is she described in the inscription as priestess of Artemis but the Syrian dress associates her with the imperial family to whom the *nymphaeum* is dedicated. In particular it links her with the empress Julia Domna who came from Emesa in Syria. The other statues of women preserved from the *nymphaeum*, displayed in niches in the facade and probably all members of the Severan imperial family, are clothed in traditional costumes arranged after statuary types of Hellenistic Greek deities.⁹⁵ As one passed along the *nymphaeum* the next monument on the left-hand side was an architectural facade hiding the external wall of the palaestra of the baths. The facade had three

niches in which statues of three women were placed. The best preserved of them is a statue that is probably Severan with an attached but belonging head in the same Syrian costume as the woman on the pedimental relief (Figure C in the reconstruction drawing fig. 302). Of the second statue only the head with a veil reaching low down onto the forehead survives. (Figure D) It is identical to the head of the female figure in Syrian costume on the pedimental relief of the *nymphaeum* and the female figure from the three-niche facade. Of the third statue only a portrait head with classicising features and melon hairstyle is preserved (Figure B figs. 303–305).⁹⁶ Although the excavation situation is not at all clear it has been convincingly argued that the dedicatory inscriptions of Nymphaeum F2 should also be associated with the niche wall. It would therefore have been constructed to accommodate statues which had belonged to a slightly earlier *nymphaeum* (also dedicated by Paulina) but which was demolished when Paulina built the monumental Severan structure. Most probably we therefore again confront the wealthy Paulina, proud of her Syrian origin and close relationship with the empress Julia Domna. The next monument is a *propylon* leading to the baths and palaestra complex behind, and dedicated to the Severan family.⁹⁷ The following stretch of wall from the *propylon* towards the old city gate also had three large niches. The first one boasted a well-preserved over life-size portrait statue of another earlier wealthy female benefactress, with an inscribed base; she had also been a priestess of Artemis and priestess in the imperial cult in Perge, Plancia Magna (fig. 308; Figure E in the reconstruction drawing fig. 302).⁹⁸ Next to her was a male statue in himation (now headless) whose identity is unknown, (Figure F) and in the third niche was a female statue also headless, but identifiable by its inscribed base as yet another image of Plancia Magna (Figure G figs. 306–307). The statues of Plancia Magna were set up by two of her freedmen Marcus Plancius Pius and Marcus Plancius Alexander. She is honoured for her high birth, as daughter of the city, as priestess of Artemis Pergaia and priestess in the imperial cult.⁹⁹ A third statue base for Plancia Magna and supporting a (now lost) bronze statue was also found in the area.¹⁰⁰ The inscriptions on the statue bases do not mention Plancia Magna's generous benefactions towards the city but as the visitor passed on to the next building, which had been the city's old gate, and therefore crossed the street, this aspect of Plancia Magna' role in city life became clear. During the Hadrianic period the old gate was completely remodelled by Plancia Magna into a large marble veneered horseshoe-shaped courtyard, with over life-size statues displayed in two curving, two-storey high niche façades commemorating deities, mythical founders of Perge, and Plancia Magna's family including her father and brother. In front of the gate at the very top of the columned

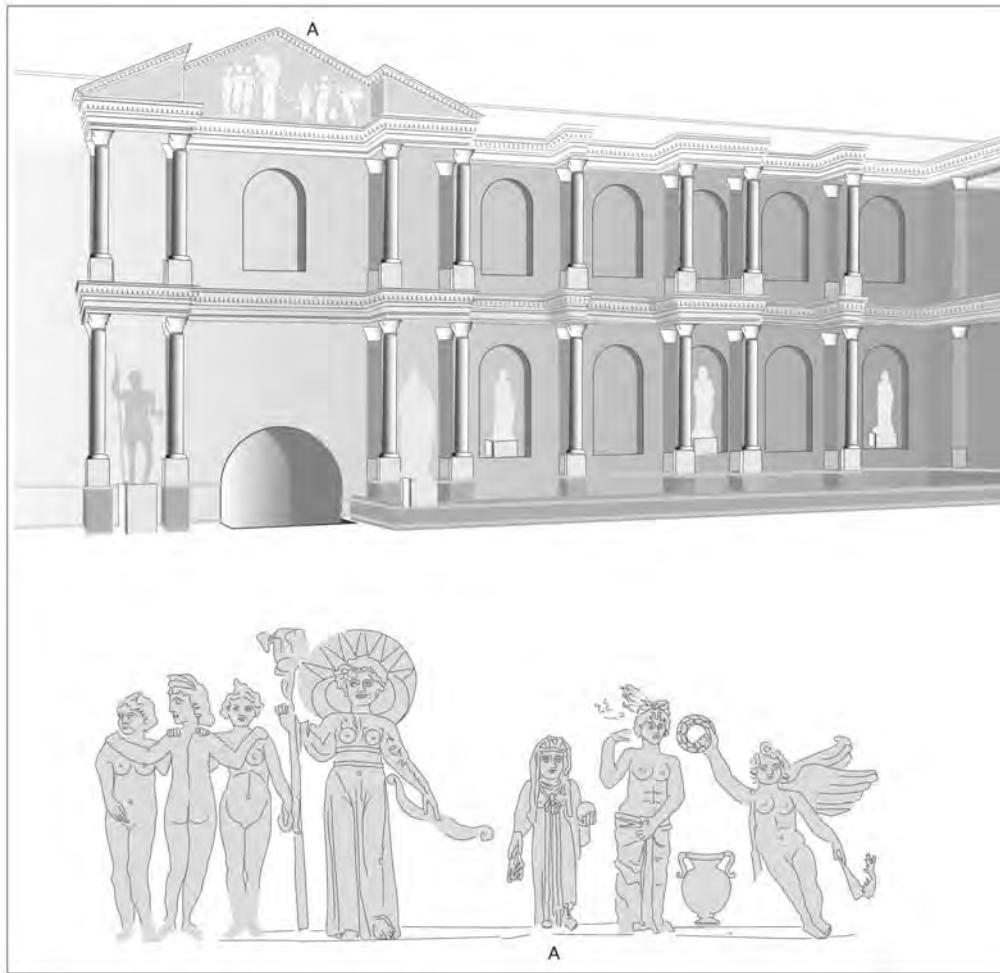
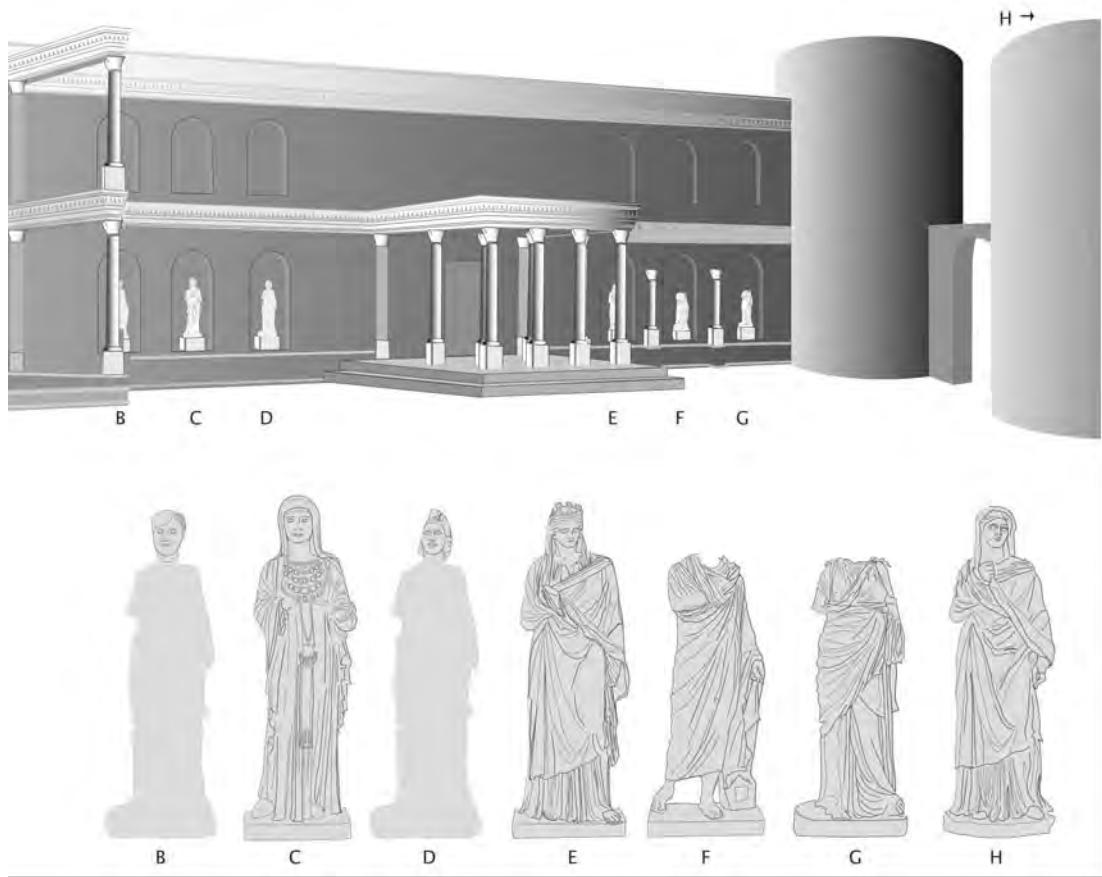


Fig. 302
Reconstruction of the buildings lining the open court by the south gate of Perge. The sculptural decoration shows a strong dominance of women as benefactresses and priestesses. Drawing by Thora Fisker.

street and facing the city she had already erected and dedicated a marble arch to the *patria* and the Hadrianic imperial House, which was adorned with numerous sculptures honouring the imperial family.¹⁰¹ The statue bases and therefore the content of the sculptural programme are extant whereas only the marble statues of Hadrian and Sabina survive.¹⁰² The architecture and the iconographic sculptural programmes dominated the entrance to Perge. The benefactions bestowed upon the city by these two powerful women, no doubt left a strong impression on the visitor before he headed for the city's male-dominated forum.¹⁰³ By concentrating her own benefactions in the same area of the city, Paulina made conscious use of Plancia Magna's existing fame, her generosity and visibility, and her religious role as priestess of Artemis and the imperial family, which Paulina herself also held. Their portrait statues were very



different however. Paulina could not boast a senatorial background but was proud of her role as priestess and her ethnic/cultural affiliation with the empress. These aspects of her identity were emphasized in her statuary. Her unusual costume, with heavy expensive jewellery, and a veil that fell onto her forehead, recalls the costumes and jewellery that local women wore on Palmyran tomb reliefs, while the shell specifically alluded to her role as priestess of Artemis. Local costumes like Paulina's were very rare for a public context,¹⁰⁴ but women (and men) could in their role as priestesses wear costumes that were characteristic of a specific goddess. For instance, in the Antonine era a woman in Cyrene was portrayed in a statuary format in the temple of Isis as Isis priestess. She wears the typical fringed mantle knotted between her breasts in a so-called Isis knot which was worn by the goddess herself.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the

Fig. 303
Statue of Paulina found
in a niche wall lining the
main street in Perge.
Marble. Height: ca. 1.9 m.
Antalya Museum.





woman in Cyrene, like Paulina, could not boast high birth and preferred to emphasize her priestly role in local society. In both of her impressive but very traditional statuary types however, Plancia Magna could hardly be distinguished from the empress in terms of statuary type, portraiture or hairstyle. By having herself represented in the statuary type of the Large Herculaneum Woman,¹⁰⁶ Plancia Magna associated herself with age-old local traditions. At the same time her statue was evocative of representations of women at the court in Rome, who had taken up the Large Herculanean Woman statuary type. The statue of Sabina which adorned the marble arch dedicated by Plancia Magna in Perge, likewise displayed the empress in the same Large Herculanean statuary type (Figure H in the reconstruction drawing fig. 302). The idealised beauty of Plancia Magna's portrait and her classical hairstyle is also very similar to the statue of the empress (fig. 309). The only significant difference between the two portrait statues is their different headwear. Both are *capite velato*, but while the empress sports a diadem Plancia Magna wears a crown adorned with small busts, symbolizing her role as priestess in the imperial cult.¹⁰⁷

Fig. 304
Head of Paulina found with statue (Fig. 303) in the niche wall lining the main street in Perge. Marble. Height: 0.23 m. Antalya Museum.

Fig. 305
Ideal head found with Figs. 303, 304. Marble. Height: 0.23 m. Antalya Museum.

Fig. 306

Statue (now headless) identified by inscription as Plancia Magna. Found with Figs. 307, 308. Marble. Height: 1.5 m. Antalya Museum.

Fig. 307

Statue of a man (now headless) found with Figs. 306, 308. The lyra may identify him as a priest. Marble. 1.87 m. Antalya Museum.



Interpreted in isolation the image of the Roman empress remains relatively uninformative but seen against the whole repertoire of images of her kinswomen and fellow élite women its meaning takes form. In her idealised beauty the Roman empress was the link between the imperial house and the private life and institution of the Roman family. She represented security for the future of her dynasty, and her family thus provided the security for Roman law and order in the Empire. Her images served as a stabilizing factor in relation to local communities and to social classes. Her portraits were not just related to portraits of the Roman elite but seem to interact with them. It is possible that the similarities which may be observed between the images of the Roman empress and those of her fellow elite women in modes of representation, in body figures, in hairstyles and in suppressed portrayal of physiognomy, were part of the imperial ideology. Portraits of the empress convey an impression of her role as guarantor of the emperor's recognition and the



Fig. 308
Statue of Plancia Magna found in the niche wall along the main columned street in Perge. Marble.
Height: 2 m. Antalya Museum.

Fig. 309
Statue of Sabina in the guise of the Large Herculanian Woman. Marble.
Height: 2.08 m. Antalya Museum

emperor's ability to depend on the Roman elite class. Gender became a significant instrument in propagating this relationship and thus, played an important role in imperial policy from the Augustan period into the third century.

ANOPINCTORI
AVGVSTORVM
SIVE OMNIA
BONORVM VI
RORVMQVI
XITANNIS LXV

Part Four: The Emperor

D M
AVRELIOFELICI
ANOPINCTORI
AVGVSTORVM
SIVEOMNIW
BONORVMVI
RORVMQVIVI
XITANNISLXV
MII ORIGENIA
FILIAKARISSIMA
PATRI B M P



Representing the Roman Emperor

The new world of dynastic rulership required a visual, symbolic language, which could be disseminated and understood throughout the Empire.¹ The emperor's portrait was the most powerful medium through which that need could be answered. Coins with his profile image, minted by the central and local mints, reached the widest audience both geographically and socially.² The portraits of the emperor validated the coins, while they advertised his legitimacy, authority and made his image omnipresent, throughout the Empire. The narrative scenes, deities and personifications on the reverses were equally important for convincing his subjects that he possessed the qualities which not only made him an ideal ruler but also transported him beyond his fellow mortals. We know hardly anything about the mechanisms behind the selection of reverse (and obverse) types – whether, for instance, the themes on some nominations were targeted at a specific audience – and there is controversy among scholars as to how active a role the emperor and central government played in creating and selecting these themes.³ However, there remains no doubt that the themes on the coinage represented how the emperor wanted to appear to his subjects across the Empire.

The obverses remained fairly constant throughout the imperial period depicting the profile bust portrait of the ruling emperor accompanied by his name and titles. The iconography of the bust piece itself in broad terms follows that of the free-standing bust type of the emperor (and private people) described above. Until the second century the emperor is most frequently shown with nude breast and from the late Iulio-Claudian period when the bust had increased substantially in size, the *paludamentum* is often added on one shoulder. The nude or semi-nude breast remains a bust type depicted on coinage throughout antiquity.⁴ Prior to the Hadrianic period, the cuirass bust is only occasionally deployed and usually in combination with the *paludamentum*. From the Antonine period onwards the cuirass becomes much more frequent and it is worn on its own without the *paludamentum*. The toga, worn both *capite*

velato and *aperto*, often featured on the full figure representations of the emperor on the reverses. It is not worn on the busts on obverses until the second quarter of the third century when it is depicted as a half figure statue with a stacked *sinus*.⁵ With regard to the toga therefore, bust representations on coins essentially followed the iconography of the free-standing bust of the emperor.

A variety of different types of headgear contributed to the meaning of the emperor's portrait on coins. The most common type of headgear during the Early Empire was the *corona civica*, referring to the emperor as saviour of the state.⁶ Perhaps because it is almost impossible to distinguish from the laurel wreath on a worn coin, it was from the Flavian period on only shown on the reverse. The laurel wreath, however, remained popular from the time of its introduction on the coinage of Augustus in 11 B.C., as a reference to triumphs and military victories. The *corona radiata*, the radiate crown of Sol first seen on coins commemorating Divus Augustus, initially symbolized the deified emperor's place within Roman state religion but was worn by the reigning emperor too already from Nero on.⁷ When worn by the reigning emperor it probably did not signal divinity but the outstanding honours which the emperor had earned by his achievements and benefactions.⁸ Right from the Iulio-Claudian period into Late Antiquity, the *corona civica* is much more frequently deployed in the freestanding portraits of the emperor than it is on coins. But the laurel wreath and in particular the *corona radiata* show an inverse distribution. The *corona radiata* had to be attached separately to the head in the form of long gilded metal rays – which are now always lost but can still be detected in the deep holes for attachment in the hair.⁹ Such representation might have been considered too exotic and too remote from the traditional Republican honorific aspect of the freestanding statue of the emperor. Divine parentage was referred to by the emperor's title, *divi filius*, in inscriptions and coin legends, and divine attributes. The eagle, *aegis* or thunderbolt of Jupiter were particularly common, but so were also the attributes of minor gods, most notably Hercules who was associated with a number of emperors. All of these symbols, and the associations that went with them, were an important means of justifying and legitimising supreme power.¹⁰ Whether these divine attributes, sometimes also deployed for sculpted representations of the emperor, are to be read as metaphors and assimilated to a specific deity or whether the emperor was identified with the deity, remains uncertain and perhaps irrelevant.¹¹ Rather than demonstrating 'difference of natural history', divine accessories served the purpose of showing the power of the emperor and should be read in the context of an honorific practice that expressed his superior status. It is along these lines that Ittai Gradel suggests we should understand emperor worship.¹²

The circulation of central coinage made the imperial image and its basic accessories known throughout the Empire.¹³ The reverses of provincial coins often emphasized local history, thus binding the image of the emperor with local tradition.¹⁴ Yet because of their miniature scale and prime utilitarian function, portraits on coins never had the same impact as large-scale images did.

The Emperor in Rome: setting the scene

The amount of time Roman emperors spent on their campaigns and on journeys around the Empire varied enormously. Augustus, for instance, spent more time outside the capital than in it during the first fourteen years of his reign, whereas Domitian hardly ever left Rome.¹⁵ The presence of the emperor in person in Rome was, however, of crucial political importance for the emperor's relations to the Senate and the Urban Plebs, at least during the Early Empire and the establishing phases of monarchical rulership.

The emperor had to seem accessible and visible. He needed to reside in the capital unless there were urgent military matters to take care of in the provinces. When Tiberius moved his residence to Capri he was "as it were, removed from the eyes of the citizens"¹⁶ The emperor should not only live his public life at Rome, but also his domestic one. The emperor presented his residence to the public as the context in which his family life took place (it is referred to as *domus* and *aula* in the sources) as well as the setting in which his personal communication with the Roman elite occurred. It was therefore a crucial element in his self-representation.¹⁷ If he did not succeed in balancing correctly a dignified and an ostentatious lifestyle, projecting both a distant, even sacred aura and an accessible one, he was destined to fail. This is a fact about which the literary sources leave us in no doubt.¹⁸

The personal participation of the emperor and his entourage of family members, officials and the ceremonial trappings that were part of religious festivals and spectacles, and not least in the three main imperial celebrations – his accession, his triumphs and the apotheosis of his predecessor (unless he had been condemned) – marked Rome as the centre of the Empire and were of vital importance for the emperor's legitimacy.¹⁹ Led by the emperor in his triumphal chariot, the parading of captured booty, flesh-and-blood barbarians and the severed heads of barbarian leaders on sticks would have had a much more direct effect than any statues and monuments could evoke.²⁰ Between these major ceremonies there were numerous other regular celebrations.²¹ The emperor's participation in such events – sacrificial ceremonies, the distri-

bution of corn or money, and at performances and games in the theatres, circuses and arenas in Rome – was a regular sight during the Early and Middle Empire. This not only emphasised the emperor's civilian aspect but made him known and recognizable to the citizens of Rome and to its many visitors. With a daily record of events happening in Rome being circulated in the provinces, imperial acts had an impact on the whole Empire.²² Scenes of the emperor performing in front of an audience are accordingly the most common reoccurring episodes in state art, in historical reliefs and on coins.

During the Early and Middle Empire Rome's public spaces gradually became transformed (and restricted) to accommodate imperial building programmes and imperial sculptural decoration. The massive buildings commissioned by succeeding emperors changed the capital.²³ New and remodelled temples, fora, victory monuments, theatres, porticos, gardens, and imperial residences reminded the citizens about the emperor's generosity, pietas, civilitas, and military power. They also evoked his dominant role in the city's religious, political and social life. Imperial mausoleums, temples for the deified emperors and altars demonstrated his superhuman character.²⁴ The narrativity of state reliefs that were usually commissioned by the Roman Senate for the adornment of these buildings epitomized the emperor's outstanding political and military achievements and they shaped perception of imperial rulership. Imperial acting (real and symbolic) was epitomized, explained and perpetuated. As mentioned above, the most frequently deployed scenes depict the authoritative emperor in front of an audience: addressing his troops, departing and returning from campaigns, celebrating a triumph in the city, showing mercy towards captives or pecuniary generosity to his subjects, and expressing piety by conducting sacrifices.²⁵ The entourage of deities and personifications usually accompanying such scenes emphasized his superhuman power, forming part of the standard canon of deeds characterizing a good emperor. But because the general themes of the scenes were normally rooted in real and often reoccurrent events they also presented the emperor as a dynamic figure, capable of running the Empire. It is significant that the emperor never appeared nude on the state reliefs in Rome, because the cuirass and the toga were better suited to messages about his perseverance and political skills.²⁶ Battle-scenes referring to specific events (or not) emphasized the emperor's commitment to the army and to keeping the civilized (Roman) world stable. They also stressed his personal courage and determination. Domestic scenes in which he is surrounded by his family and acting as a husband, father and founder and securer of a dynasty also made the emperor appear human and similar to his subjects.

No fewer than three scenes among the surviving state reliefs from Rome show an imperial *apotheosis*.²⁷ All three depict the moment when

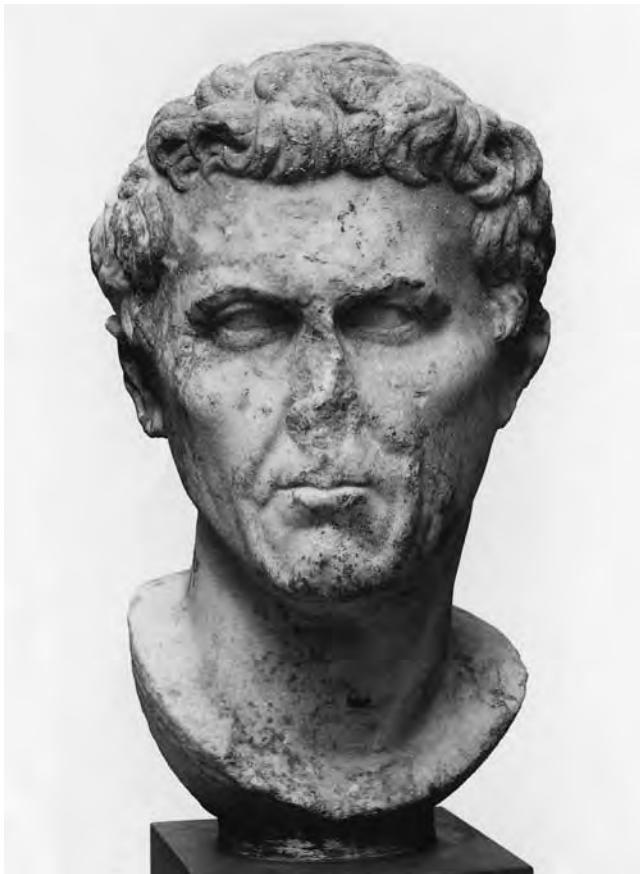
the imperial soul is lifted to heaven in the otherwise very long ritual conducted at the death of an emperor.²⁸ These scenes were important because they represented the *rite de passage* of the dead emperor and empress. This takes place when they are transformed into gods in the state cult, and it also suggests that the successor had divine ancestry. Just as importantly, the apotheosis reliefs alluded to *Aeternitas Augusti*, *Roma Aeterna*, and *Saeculum Aureum*, the eternity of the Empire, of imperial rulership, of the Empire and the Golden Age,²⁹ stressing that it was not the end but the continuation of a golden era.

The opposite – that is, the destruction of the memory of a bad emperor – was just as important. The *damnatio memoriae* (a modern expression) was confined by the Senate to a person, usually an emperor or a member of the imperial family.³⁰ It was not always clear-cut, in the provinces at least, whether a deceased emperor had been deified or condemned but in the cases of Nero and Domitian, the practice was carried out in a very determined and efficient way, leaving no doubt in peoples' minds.³¹ Certain aspects of the practice remained visible for future generations. These included the destruction or removal of the condemned's statues, the chiselling away of his whole figure or his head from state reliefs and/or the recarving of his head into a portrait which was often that of his immediate successor. His name would be erased from public inscriptions.

It is often assumed that such punishment was intended to oblivate all traces of the condemned emperor but this was not the case.³² On the contrary, the practice was intended to perpetuate the negative memory of the overthrown emperor and to place his immediate successor in a contrasting positive light. The statues of the condemned which had their heads knocked off may have been left *in situ* without heads, at least for a while, to remind the public about the previous regime. They would also draw attention to the fact that the problem had been dealt with.³³ The systematic reworking of the portraits of Nero into images of Galba, and those of Domitian into images of Nerva and Trajan was not solely grounded in economy (figs. 310–311).³⁴ It did of course save a piece of marble, but with the standardized portrait types of emperors it was probably easier to start carving an imperial portrait from the scratch; the end result was definitely better because it is almost always evident if a portrait has been recut from an already existing head in the overall proportions of the head and in the details of physiognomy and hairstyle. But the intention was that the alteration should be visible. Even though the negative memory and the identity of the despot was being transformed into something positive, it was still faintly visible and kept alive. While there is ample evidence for the destruction of the images of the condemned Commodus, evidence for the recarving of his portraits

Fig. 310

Portrait of Nerva recut from a portrait of Domitian. The original lay-out of the fronthair locks remains visible and the long hair at the nape of the neck is typical of the portraits of Domitian.
Marble. Height: 0.38.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



is scarce.³⁵ Perhaps the turbulent situation in 193 left no time for this traditional practice. When Septimius Severus had finally established himself as sole ruler the moment had passed (should he reuse the portraits of Commodus or those of Didius Julianus?) and Commodus was finally rehabilitated in 197 when Severus adopted himself into the Antonine dynasty and promoted himself as Commodus' 'brother'. In any case, the complicated and time-consuming practice of recarving the condemned emperor's portraits into likenesses of his follower was eventually given up and only the violent and destructive aspect of the practice remained. This continued throughout the Late Empire. When the practice of recarving emperor portraits was resumed in the fourth century A.D. it may be seen in the light of a general flair for reuse rather than an attempt to create a 'negative' memory or retain the negative identity of the emperor.³⁶

The *damnatio memoriae* was above all a public punishment but it also occurred in the private sphere, for here too images of a condemned em-



Fig. 311
Profile of portrait of
Nerva Fig. 310.

peror had to be dealt with. Most images of emperors in private contexts were probably miniatures, paintings or sculptures in the bust form, and one would assume that the easiest way of responding to the *damnatio memoriae* of an emperor was to remove his images. This may sometimes have been the case but evidence of the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta suggests otherwise.³⁷ Although there is no secure find spot for the painted tondo depicting the Severan imperial family found in Egypt and now in Berlin, its small scale, shabby style as well as its representational form suggest that it was displayed in a private context. Julia Domna in particular is overloaded with jewellery (see plate 39a).³⁸ Instead of discarding the painting after the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta, his portrait was painted over and left as a symbol of his negative identity and a tribute to his brother who at the time enjoyed a positive reputation. A bust foot bearing the erased name of Geta suggests a similar situation. Geta's name, Publii Septimii Getae, has been erased from the name-plate (fig. 312). The rest of his name, his titles and the dedicator's name, which run

Fig. 312

Foot of a now missing bust of Geta set up by Cl. Iulianus Peraper. The name-plate and the upper profile of the bust-foot show clear traces of erasure. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.



around the lower profile of the bust foot, have however been left intact. Even though the bust and head are missing it can be deduced that the head has been removed as has the name from the inscription. Instead of discarding this privately dedicated and now compromised bust of Geta it was decided to retain the bust and take the trouble to erase his name (and knocking off or mutilating his head?). This demonstrates how strongly portrait images of the imperial family were perceived as being the replacement of the figure portrayed in person. Even in a private context they conveyed an important message which was addressed in theory to the new (or sole) emperor: that the matter had been settled.

IMP(eratori) SEVERI AUG(usti)O F(ilio)
CL(audius) IULIANUS PER
APER
DEVOTUS NUMINI EIUS

To [Publius Septimius Geta,] son of Imperator Severus Augustus (set up by) Claudius Julianus Peraper, devoted to his divinity.

Accordingly, the discovery of an undamaged portrait of Domitian in a tomb on the Isola Sacra by Ostia has been interpreted as having been 'hidden away' after his *damatio memoriae*.³⁹

The Emperor in Rome: Close encounter

Let us now turn attention to the surviving portraits and statue bases of emperors from Rome in order to analyse the role of freestanding portraits in relation to the state reliefs. While state reliefs set the scene, giving the context of imperial ideology and actions, the vast majority of the freestanding three-dimensional images, statues and busts, were erected as

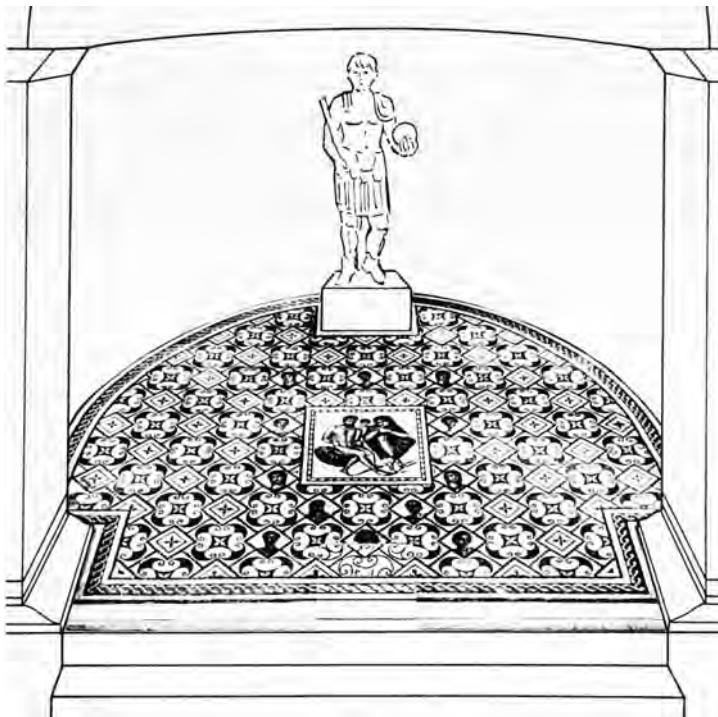


Fig. 313
Reconstruction of the second century A.D. interior of the basilica in Tipasa. As a centre scene the mosaic shows a barbarian family kneeling in front of a podium which most probably once carried the image of an emperor. The emperor's supremely important position, his role as protector of the civilized (Roman) world and the foundation of his power are all aspects of imperial rulership which are highlighted in this setting.

isolated monuments. The statues may be set up in an architectural context, which by its structure and décor highlighted the emperor's outstanding position (fig. 313).⁴⁰ During the very Early Empire however the statues of the emperor stood in spaces such as the Forum where they mingled with statues of deities, personifications and local mythical figures or real persons. In that sense they followed the long Republican tradition of honouring successful politicians and generals with portrait statues in the public spaces of Rome. In provincial cities this way of displaying the emperor's image among those of private people continued into the third century and beyond in some areas. Freestanding statues of the emperor therefore served a different purpose to the historical reliefs. The emphasis was not on actions but on the emperor's role models, the visual canon relating to his exemplary character, behaviour, and values which he – to a certain degree – shared with 'ordinary' people. The free-standing statue of the emperor in Rome (and in the provinces) therefore in principle served to express values which he shared with private citizens of Rome and of the Empire. The exchange taking place between honorand and dedicatory, the location for his statues, his traditional statuary modes and his period face continued the Republican tradition of honorific statues in Rome. This was easily transferred from Rome to the provinces where the freestanding statues of the emperor blended with those of the central of-

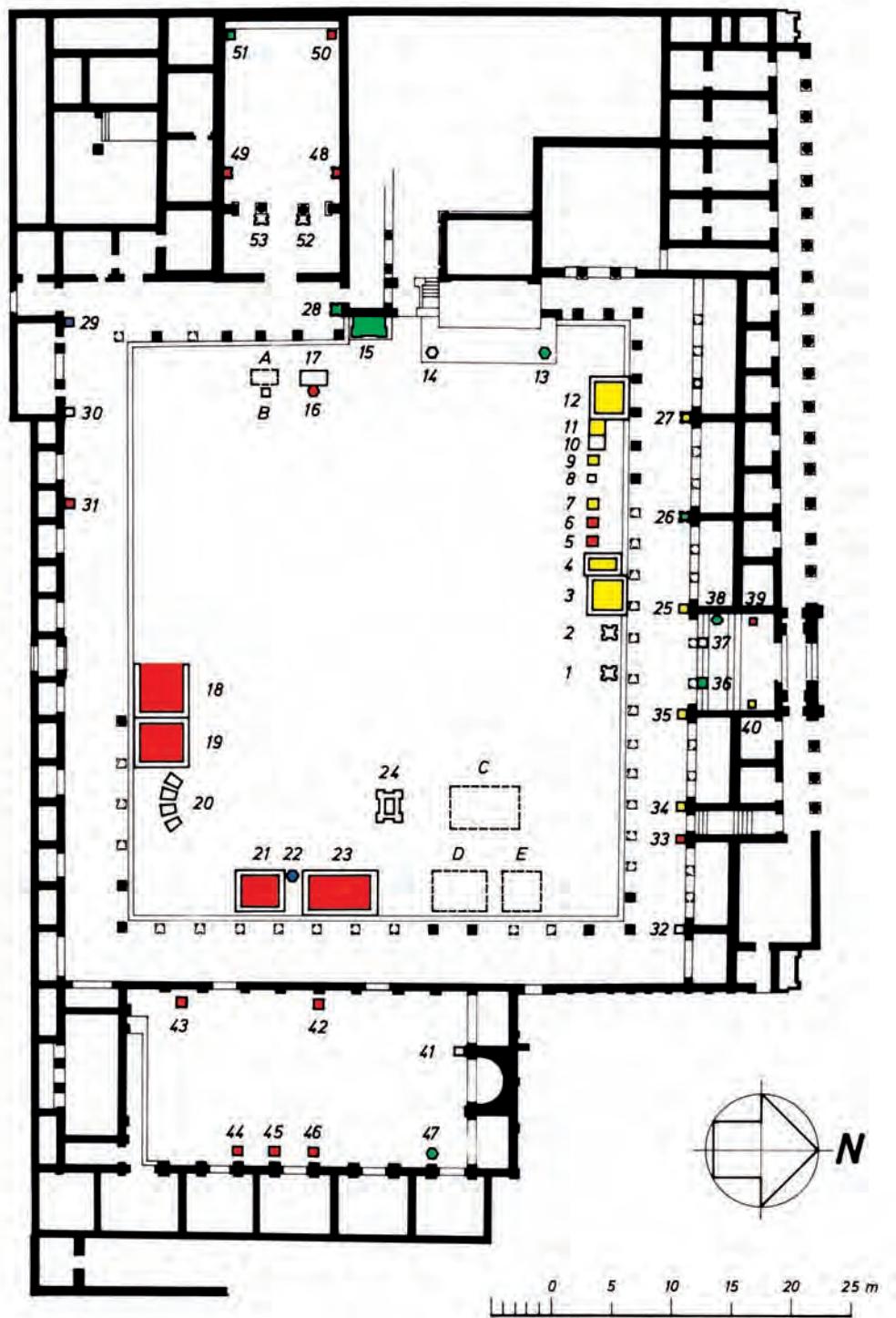


Plate 40

Distribution of statue dedication in the forum in Timgad. Bases indicated in red honour emperors, in blue empresses, in green deities and personifications and in yellow private persons (those with no colour are un-identifiable).

fice-holders and of the local elite. His statues were dedicated by the same local groups as those of the ordinary citizens and they were set up in the same locations (plate 40). The emperor wore costumes that could in principle be worn by any Roman citizen and he had a period face which in principle made his appearance similar to theirs.

Another factor which was just as important in relation to the free-standing statues of the emperor in Rome, was that they ensured his recognizability. Contrary to representations on the state reliefs (and coins), freestanding portraits of the emperor were intended to be viewed en face. They were intended to communicate with the individual viewer in a direct, even personal way. The emperor's features – his facial expression and not least his hair – could be studied at close hand. His head was replicated again and again in good quality marble or bronze statues all over the city, so that his personal characteristics became known and his rulership unavoidable. In particular, the emperor's hair was carefully styled with the purpose of making him easily recognizable.

Body modes of Roman emperors were deeply conventional. They relied heavily on Republican models and remained basically unchanged during the Early and Middle Empire, transmitting for about three centuries the consistent messages of the values that the emperor shared with his fellow citizens. Accordingly, the only frequently deployed headgear in the free-standing representations of the emperor was the *corona civica*. The text of the inscribed base which bore the statue was usually also conventional and formulaic and did not contribute much to the perception of the image, except in that it confirmed its identity and reminded the viewers of the emperor's expanding titulature. The selection of names and titles sent clear indications of how the emperor wanted to be perceived by his subjects, but it was within a very general framework of (often constructed) family relations, offices held and military achievements. Despite the conventional aspects of the imperial statue, it was, however, only in this format that the more refined details of identity could be communicated to his subjects. His characteristic hairstyle and physiognomy set him apart from both his predecessor and from private individuals. Even though imperial portrait representation was based on highly traditional practices, what was new and innovative were its strong features within a very traditional iconographic framework. There was also an efficient copying and distribution system which made the portrait omnipresent. The emperor's visibility and his political impact were highly dependent on the success of his portrait. Even during the course of the third century A.D. and after, when emperors relied more on the army than the Senate, and the commissioning of grand-scale state reliefs died out, the free-standing statue of the emperor remained an important medium in the public spaces of Rome, as we shall see.

Where were the free-standing statues of the emperor set up in Rome?

In his *Res Gestae* Augustus recorded that he had eighty silver statues representing him standing, on horseback and in chariots placed around the city (*steterunt in urbe circiter*) removed.⁴¹ No doubt a literary *topos* deployed to emphasise the emperor's modesty, it nevertheless suggests that there were many statues of Augustus in Rome. It raises the following general question: where were statues of Roman emperors typically displayed in Rome? In spite of the city's continuous occupation since antiquity a number of imperial portraits and statue bases have survived in ancient contexts. Let us start with the surviving statue bases: numerous studies have been concerned with the compilation of epigraphic and literary evidence for statuary representation of the emperor in Rome.⁴² Franz Alto Bauer's study from 1996 concentrates on the Forum Romanum and the imperial fora in Late Antiquity but he includes an overview of epigraphic and literary sources as well as portrait statuary of the earlier periods. Heike Niquet's 2000 study on senatorial representation in Late Antiquity provides a good selection of comparable material. The following comments on the erection of freestanding statues of the emperor in Rome therefore focus on the results which have emerged from these studies that are the most significant for our purpose. They also draw on the new edition of *CIL VI* by Silvio Panciera and Geza Alföldy from 1996 and 2000, including *Addenda et Corrigenda* of a number of inscriptions previously published in *CIL VI*.

About 153 inscriptions from Rome are explicitly described as statue bases for Roman emperors.⁴³ As is to be expected, the Forum is the most frequently reported find spot. Even though relatively few imperial portraits and statue bases dating to the period before the Tethrarcians have been found in the Forum Romanum, it was always one of the most important locations for erecting imperial statues and for setting up state art in general.⁴⁴ The vast majority of the remaining bases that have survived from an ancient context⁴⁵ come from the imperial fora and the baths.⁴⁶ Other locations boasting a number of bases include the Palatine and the Aventine but the exact find spots for these bases are not recorded – some may derive from *horti* or the imperial residences.⁴⁷ Isolated bases show a wide range of contexts including the Colosseum, the Capitol, the Forum Boarium, the mausoleum of Augustus, the theatre of Marcellus, the Porticus Lentulorum (Octaviae)⁴⁸ and dwellings of private corporations.⁴⁹ When epigraphic evidence is amalgamated with find spots for emperor portrait heads and statues in Rome, as well as with evidence on coins and in literary sources, an overview of the wide range of public spaces important for imperial representation in the cap-

ital can be drawn. Literary sources give us a number of locations where emperor statues were displayed, but they are more informative about the exceptional than the common practices. An example is the colossus of Nero, first displayed in the vestibule of Domus Aurea but after his fall moved next to the Colosseum, which it overlooked. Even with the head having been transformed into a likeness of Sol, the colossus continued to be a reminder of the madness of Nero. Likewise we learn of Domitian's colossal equestrian statue which was placed in the middle of the Forum. It was so excessive that it hindered traffic and was pulled down after his fall. The inscription of Volusius Saturninus (discussed in the Addendum) is more helpful because the statues he was awarded by the Senate were all set up in very prominent places, and they probably stood beside those of the emperor. Most notable here is the erection of honorific statues of Saturninus in the temples of traditional gods and in those of the new *divi*. Portraits of the living (and deified) emperor were also set up in temples of the traditional and new *divi* in Rome, according to literary sources.⁵⁰ The entrance hall of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus held statues of Trajan (though only two and not in the same excess as his predecessor Domitian),⁵¹ a statue of Nero stood in the temple of Mars Ultor,⁵² Marcus Aurelius' and the deified Faustina's images in the temple of Venus and Roma,⁵³ and Caracalla's images stood in many temples.⁵⁴ Religious ceremonies surrounding the worship of the living emperor were carefully staged, and a deceased, deified emperor had a proper cult with priests, a temple and a cult image. According to Dio Chrysostom, honorific statues set up in sanctuaries in the East were endowed with a special aura of sanctity, and it can be deduced that the atmosphere of the interior of a temple with its cult image lent meaning to the statues erected there. It is a reoccurring but not particularly relevant question whether statues of the reigning emperor in temples (and other locations) were worshipped with offerings. The state priests performed sacrifices on behalf of the emperor or, from around A.D. 50, to his *Genius*. From the Acts of the Arval Brothers some of the places where these offerings were made are recorded. But the minor and bloodless offerings of state bodies, private priestly corporations or individuals, could have taken place on a small transportable altar in front of an image of the emperor to evoke his superhuman nature visually, as well as in prayers.⁵⁵ The function and meaning of the emperor's portrait changed according to the ceremonies that were conducted before it.

One of the most significant results of the above mentioned studies is the very limited evidence for honorific statues of private people in important political spaces in Rome.⁵⁶ When these individuals were represented they either had exceptional careers like Volusius Saturninus, or their honours were heavily contextualized, as evidence from the Forum

of Trajan demonstrates. The discovery of statue bases and portraits of emperors as well the descriptions in literary sources, leave no doubt that the Forum of Trajan continued to be one of the most attractive places for imperial representation, right into the reign of Honorius.⁵⁷ From Ammianus Marcellinus' description of Constantius' visit to Rome in A.D. 357 it is known that the Forum of Trajan was still at that time considered to have "no like under the cope of heaven" and that Trajan's horse still dominated the central court.⁵⁸ When the Forum of Trajan was inaugurated in A.D. 112 and by the time of its completion the dominance of statues of Trajan (and his family) is relatively well recorded.⁵⁹ The forum contained a rich sculptural programme of military trophies, battle scenes, Dacian prisoners, previous emperors and their families, members of Trajan's own family including a number of over life-size female statues, and multiple statues of the emperor himself.⁶⁰ His six-horse chariot topped the main entrance arch while five smaller charioteer groups stood on top of the two side entrances and above the three corresponding entrance porches to the Basilica Ulpia. His colossal equestrian statue stood slightly off the centre of the main square, the *area fori*, allowing a view of the colossal statue on top of the column erected in the peristyle court between the libraries behind the Basilica Ulpia.⁶¹ The column itself is decorated with multiple scenes showing Trajan's engagement with the army in the Dacian Wars, while *imagines clipeatae* with portraits of previous emperors and their families adorned the attic of the colonnades surrounding the *area fori* and broke up the row of captured Dacians. The two hemicycles behind the porticos held over life-size statues, probably of Trajan. Eight statues of him were set up as pairs in the recesses around the three entrance porches, which broke up the south facade of the Basilica Ulpia.⁶² When the column was erected, his gilded bronze statue on top of the column, could be seen from long distances. The so-called 'Great Trajanic Frieze' celebrating Rome's and the emperor's outstanding military superiority may have adorned the attic of the court.⁶³ A colossal statue of Trajan, seated with nude breast and holding a lance, served as cult statue in his temple. Trajan's Forum became a symbol of Roman splendour and law and order. Exotic materials from campaigns advertised Roman superiority over others and the juxtaposition of Dacian prisoners with the idealised (imperial) Roman family conveyed the message that Roman law and order would never succumb to alien lawlessness.⁶⁴ The forum was one of the main official centres in the city and served a variety of functions. The emperor's multiple images therefore guaranteed his omni-presence and reinforced his dominance in the public and private life of the Empire. Apart from the *summi viri*, there may have been representations of some of his contemporaries,⁶⁵ and a number of statue bases honour high-ranking offi-

cials in the Antonine administration of Rome.⁶⁶ These honorands had all had successful military careers in Marcus Aurelius' wars and it is for that qualification they are distinguished, according to the text on the bases. The statues were set up by the Senate on the initiative of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and the statuary mode is described in each of the well-preserved bases.⁶⁷ Two persons, T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (*CIL VI* 41145) and M. Bassaeus Rufus (*CIL VI* 41141), are honoured with several statues. They are represented in armour (*statua habitu militari* and *statua armata*) in Trajan's forum but in civilian costume (*habitu civili* and *civili amictu*) in the pronaos of the temple of the deified Antoninus Pius. Bassaeus Rufus also received a third statue (*loricata*) in an unknown temple. Iunius Maximus (*CIL VI* 41144) however was honoured with two statues in the forum, one *habitu civili* the other *armata*, while the two honorands (*CIL VI* 41142 and 41146) each received a statue in the forum. One was depicted in armour while the other was in civilian costume. That the statuary mode is specified in the text on the statue bases which once carried the images themselves in those same modes, shows that it was a matter of high concern. We can only speculate as to why some honorands were awarded statues in the civilian costume of the toga and others in the cuirass. All those honoured were from the highest aristocracy and there was therefore no need to distinguish them according to rank. The cuirass may have been considered the most honourable mode in this context because its connotations corresponded to the predominant ideological messages in the forum, of the military achievements of emperor and Empire. On the other hand, it can be assumed that the exact locations for the erection of the statues were carefully planned. The forum had a variety of civilian functions and the toga may have been the most appropriate costume for a particular spot – Trajan himself was also represented in toga in the forum.⁶⁸ However, the mixture of civilian and military representations in this particular context and period points towards a carefully planned political communication about the power balance between civilian and military interests. We have already seen above how the *civilitas* expressed in the long hair and beard that were cultivated by the Antonine emperors was usually combined with the cuirassed costume of busts and statues. It seems sensible to interpret the variation in body modes of these heroes of the Antonine wars as articulating a similar concern for power balance. Whatever the explanation, the inscriptions demonstrate the importance of a particular statuary mode in a particular context and show how carefully thought-out and heavily contextualized private representation was when permitted in Rome.

While there is ample evidence for the setting up of the emperor's image in semi-private and private spaces outside Rome evidence from the cap-

ital itself is scarce. Recent discoveries and investigations into the role of corporate associations in Rome have demonstrated that portraits of the emperor must have played an important role in these spaces in Rome too. As in provincial cities, cultic and guild-like associations in Rome (for instance that of the horn blowers and fire fighters), demonstrated their devotion to the emperor by establishing his cult and by erecting his image.⁶⁹ Corporate devotion to the emperor was probably highly appreciated in the imperial administration because it reflected a personal communication and bound the emperor with this class, which represented an important element in the economic, social and religious fabric of Roman society.

We have seen how the domus of C. Fulvius Plautianus the disposed praetorian praefectus of Septimius Severus, was furnished with both imperial and private portraits. Finds from other parts of the Empire show that it may have been common practice to display life-size portraits of the living emperor or even a dynastic imperial group in the properties of the elite.⁷⁰ The imperial images may have validated the activities associated with public life taking place in the domus. A substantial number of just under half life-size emperor portraits (most however without proper provenance) as well as literary sources suggest that imperial images were also a feature of life in the ordinary Roman household.⁷¹ Tacitus suggests that there were images of Augustus in every household in Rome.⁷² Likewise, sometime between 145 and 147 A.D. Marcus Cornelius Fronto wrote in a letter to his pupil Marcus Aurelius:

You know how in all money-exchanger's bureaux, booths, bookstalls, eaves, porches, windows, anywhere and everywhere there are likenesses (*imagines*) of you exposed to view, badly enough painted most of them to be sure, and modelled or carved in a plain, not to say sorry, style of art, yet at the same time your likeness, however much a caricature, never when I go out meets my eyes without making me part my lips for a smile and dream of you.⁷³

We hardly know anything about where exactly the portraits of emperors were displayed in houses of private citizens and it is therefore difficult to draw conclusions about their function, which may also have changed with their being moved around the house. They may have lent connotations of power to the image of the owner of the house and thus to the owner himself. They may have stood in the domestic shrine among the household lares with the *Genius* of the *Pater Familias*, and have been worshiped with sacrifices of incense and prayers at family celebrations or even daily as a passage in Ovid describes; or they may have been an important element in the demonstration of a very personal loyalty towards the emperor.⁷⁴

I have already dealt with portraits of both private and imperial persons in villas. Isolated imperial portraits have been found in a number

of villas of unknown owners in the suburbs of Rome⁷⁵ and villas in imperial ownership have likewise boasted imperial portraits.⁷⁶ The imperial portraits discovered in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli span a long period reflecting the continuous use of the villa, while the portraits found in the villa of Antonine Pius in Lanuvium may represent a single family-gallery display.⁷⁷ However, the cache of multiple portraits representing Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus found at Acquatraversa, a site which is identified as a villa owned by Lucius Verus (see below), is exceptional.

Who set up the statues of the emperor in Rome?

Another aspect that has become very clear from the above-mentioned epigraphic studies is the change in dedication practices of emperor statues during the late third century. The dedication of imperial statues in Rome (and outside) was a matter of negotiation and communication in which both parties, the dedicato and the emperor as the honorand, defined their relationship. It was a great privilege to be allowed to dedicate statues of the emperor in Rome. As in provincial cities where the *decuriones* had to grant permission for the setting up of statues of the emperor in public places (and of private persons as discussed above) the practice was strictly controlled. Until the third quarter of the third century the majority of imperial statues in Rome were set up by the Senate, the Senate and the Roman people or the urban plebs. The emperor himself could also erect a statue of one of his predecessors.⁷⁸ However, there are a number of examples of provincial cities, priestly organizations, military units, as well as private organizations and private citizens, dedicating statues of the emperor in the public spaces of Rome.⁷⁹ This allowed a range of subordinates publicly to demonstrate their loyalty to him by dedicating a statue in Rome itself. Such an exchange between the emperor and his subordinates was therefore a vital element in the power structures of the Early and Middle Empire despite, or because of, the clearly demarcated restrictions. It gave the impression that the emperor was in principle equal to those over whom he ruled. This changed drastically from the late third century on, when neither the Senate nor private persons played any role as dedicators of statues to the emperor in Rome. The *Prefectus Urbi* now acted as the main dedicato. Of the 52 statue bases with a known dedicato in honour of emperors from Diocletian (284–305 A.D.) to Honorius (395–423 A.D.), 40 are dedicated by the *praefectus urbi* while the rest are dedicated by the *praefectus annonae*, the *praefectus* of the *vigiles*, other office-holders and in one case by a private organization.⁸⁰ The practice in dedicating statues to private persons in Rome also changed. Where the Senate previously

acted as dedicator on the initiative or permission of the emperor, the emperor himself now took over the role as dedicator of statues to private office-holders, and in particular to the *praefectus urbi*. Statuary dedications as a means of maintaining the political role of the Roman Senate and as a means of communication between the emperor and representatives of the Empire, were reduced to the exchange between emperor and official.

Statues for eternity?

54 of the 153 bases from emperor statues at Rome can be dated to within the 220-year long period from the beginning of the reign of Augustus in 27 B.C. to the end of the Antonine dynasty in 192 A.D. 99 bases date within the 230-year long period from Septimius Severus to the end of the reign of Honorius in 423 A.D. and of these 68 date from the first Tetrarchy in 293 to 423, the reign of Honorius. This suggests, not surprisingly, that the later the inscription was set up the better its chance of survival. The preserved portraits from Rome show an inverse distribution however.⁸¹ From the period 27 B.C. to 192 A.D. there are about 60 imperial portraits, whereas only 39 belong to the period between 193 and 423; of the latter only 9 date from the period between 293 and 423.

This situation with so few statue bases preserved from the Early and Middle Empire while a vast number of sculpted portraits from that same period have survived, is unusual and needs further explanation.⁸² Firstly, a substantial number of the portraits may have been mounted on busts and therefore primarily intended for a context where no monumental inscription was necessary. It is likely that the powerful upper class elite preferred to display representations of emperors in marble in their private residences instead of paintings, as might have been the case in provincial Clusium for example (see below). Secondly, many imperial portraits may have survived into the modern period as collectables. Further, it has previously been observed that the bases supporting late antique portrait statues have often been recycled from earlier ones.⁸³ This can also be established for a number of imperial statue bases from Rome, and even for those displayed in the Forum Romanum.⁸⁴ Because of the political significance of the locations in which late antique imperial portraits were usually displayed, it is likely that the reused bases had originally carried earlier imperial statues. We saw above that it was not unusual for portraits of private individuals to be removed from their original setting soon after they had been erected; the statues were either remelted or reused, or alternatively moved to a less prestigious location. While it may have been politically unwise of the imperial administration



Fig. 314
Portrait of Augustus
restored in antiquity on a
late second century A.D.
bust. Found near Baia.
Marble. Museo Archeologico di Sperlonga.

to have images of previous emperors destroyed, there is occasionally evidence that they could be moved around and either re-displayed immediately in a different context or put away for storage. The statues might also be remounted on new bases, or the heads set on more up-to-date busts or bodies. Excavations on the corner of Via Babuino and Via Gesù e Maria revealed a cash of old bronze sculptures including two heads of Augustus, a head probably representing Caius Caesar and a further head probably also representing a Julio-Claudian prince. It is possible that they were placed there for storage and intended for later reuse in a new context.⁸⁵ Severus Alexander, for example, is recorded as having erected statues of deified emperors in Nerva's Forum Transitorium brought in from all over Rome.⁸⁶ In 195/96 A.D Septimius Severus set up a statue of the deified Nerva, one of his fabricated ancestors, on the Capitol.⁸⁷ Old emperor statues would have been convenient for this purpose instead of going through the process of commissioning and making a whole new image from the scratch.⁸⁸

The storing and reuse of imperial images was not just a phenomenon of Rome. A very worn portrait of Augustus was discovered recently near Baiae. It is mounted with a large late second century A.D. cuirassed bust showing the same worn surface as the head, which must have been re-mounted and re-used for a new late second century A.D. context (fig. 314).⁸⁹ There is similar evidence from distant provinces. The most famous instance is a letter from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the Gerusia of Ephesos recorded in an inscription from that city. The imperial letter is a response to a (now lost) request of the Gerusia to melt down some old silver images of emperors (the term used is *eikon*) with worn out unrecognisable faces stored in the *synhedrion* (council

hall) into images of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.⁹⁰ The emperors cannot, however, accept that the old images are turned into images of themselves; instead they should be preserved and their identity established by consulting either the bases on which they were once displayed or eventual inventories in the *synhedrion* in order to re-establish the honour. The images from Ephesos were taken into storage because they no longer looked attractive. Imperial statues were actively used, just like the statues of private individuals discussed above – they were regularly crowned with wreaths and dressed with garlands; those in metal might be carried in processions and they were probably regularly maintained.⁹¹ Even though these examples show that it was not straightforward in the provinces either to resmelt or recycle imperial images, it might have been much more difficult to do so in Rome.

Another reason why emperor statues were removed (apart from the *damnatio memoriae*) may be that certain emperors were no longer relevant to the present political situation. There is a parallel to such a situation in the list of imperial *divi* to whom the Arval Brothers regularly sacrificed, as recorded in their *Acta*.⁹² In A.D. 224, one of the last entries in the *Acta* states that there were twenty *divi*. This is not enough to include all the imperial *divi* and some must have been removed from the list.⁹³ Perhaps the patrons of the silver images in Ephesos were no longer included in peoples' regular prayers or carried in the public processions, and had therefore been put into storage. The relevance for posthumous honouring and for the preservation of images of a particular emperor was thus conditioned by historical circumstances. This also applies to the practice of posthumous dedications.

It was mentioned above in the discussion of emperor portraits on coins that no attributes specifically identify an emperor as dead and deified. Identification of a portrait as posthumous is therefore complicated. It has sometimes been attempted from the style of the portrait – if a more ‘divine’ expression may be read – but as I have argued elsewhere on the basis of the epigraphic evidence, such attempts are extremely subjective.⁹⁴ Only the inscription and in very specific cases the context will identify a portrait as a posthumous dedication. Augustus, who remained a state god to whom offerings were conducted on a regular basis well into the third century, according to the Acts of the Arval Brothers, figured regularly on coins until the middle of the third century A.D. How long his statues continued to be set up and produced remains unknown; beyond reasonable doubt, though, well into the third century.⁹⁵ However, the latest copy of the portrait types of Augustus is dated by Boschung to the Antonine period.⁹⁶ This implies either that his portraits were reused for new contexts – which was indeed the case with the bust from Baiae – and/or that sculptors were capable of replicating the styles of previous

periods, as discussed above. A portrait of Augustus, dated to the Antonine period was found in Palestrina with a portrait of Faustina Maior of the same colossal dimensions.⁹⁷ Fragments of a foot and arms for separate attachment show that the portraits belonged to acroliths. Even though both heads were deliberately damaged around the eyes in the Christian period, there are clear traces of a drilled pupil in Faustina's right eye and of an engraved iris in her left. The head of Augustus does not have such details in the eyes, and his hair is more 'toned down' in its drill work than that of Faustina. One may therefore wonder whether an expert's eye would still date this portrait as late as the Antonine period if it had been found out of context. In other words, it is likely that the sculptor responsible for the commission had tried to catch both technique and style of the images of Augustus set up during his lifetime and probably still plentifully available during the Antonine period, as argued above. Other 'good' emperors remained relevant for a long time, and commissions of their images continued into the third century.⁹⁸ Portraits of Livia on the other hand were set up as late as the Hadrianic period; she may have been taken off the list of state gods by the Severan period.⁹⁹

But except for Augustus and the few other 'good' emperors the majority of the imperial *divi* were only relevant for their immediate successors. Nevertheless there were always exceptions, like for instance the statue set up by Septimius Severus to Nerva.¹⁰⁰ Most emperor statues and dynastic imperial groups would have remained *in situ* at least for a while after the emperor's death or until the dynasty had died out. Portraits of the new emperor and his family would then have been set up in the same contexts. In some cases, statues of the new emperor were placed next to those of the previous one, in part to emphasize divine parentage, but also because these locations were the most important spots in the city.¹⁰¹

Statuary formats and statuary body types

The monstrous proportions of a portrait statue were a feature on which ancient authors could draw in order to emphasise just how deranged and scandalous an emperor's behaviour had been. Nero's gilded bronze colossus was as ostentatious and extravagant as his golden house; Domitian's horse was so big that it hindered passage in the Forum.¹⁰² While the latter may be true, such descriptions always contain retrospective slander. Statues of the emperor in colossal dimensions were not at all rare and were usually fully integrated into the architecture of a building or monument. They might dominate the centre of a square as did Trajan's horse in his forum; they might be stood in niches or seated on a

Fig. 315

The size of a statue was a means to emphasize the importance of the imperial figure. Over life-size statue of Faustina Maior in the guise of Concordia surrounded by smaller statues of Diana and Apollo in their role as planets of the moon and the sun from a bath in Rome.



throne in basilicas, theatres and temples where their size must have overwhelmed the viewer. Or they could be placed on top of columns and arches where they were meant to be seen from a long distance. They may also be larger than the surrounding figures, as the over life-size statue of Faustina Maior found in a bath complex excavated during construction work in the late 19th century in the area of Piazza dei Cinquecento in Rome. Not only is the statue of Faustina considerably larger than the less than life-size surrounding statues of Diana and Apollo; it is raised on a higher base that was veneered with red marble (fig. 315).¹⁰³ However, most statues of the emperor were of much more moderate size, being usually slightly over life-size.

Equestrian statues and chariots were normally placed centrally on a square, at the top of the stairs in a theatre, or on an arch. Seated statues with a civilian office-holding content were frequently deployed for representing the emperor on coins and state reliefs, but are rare as statuary representations in the round, probably because their meaning was too specific. In addition they would have been awkward to display as isolated free-standing monuments.¹⁰⁴ The seated format was therefore mainly deployed as an enthroned image of the emperor usually within a tem-

ple or basilica. The *statua pedester* was by far the most common representation of the emperor. It was set either in family groups or much more frequently as an isolated dedication and placed among statues of past and present city notables, mythological or real, and statues of personifications and gods. The standing statues were usually integrated into the architecture of a square or building, placed in front of or between columns, along the back wall of a colonnade or in a niche.

The body modes of the emperor were deeply conventional anchored in both the Roman Republican tradition of representing office-holders and in the tradition of representations of Hellenistic kings. A limited repertoire of traditional statuary types, basically featuring the toga statue, the cuirass statue, and the heroic nude statue, placed the emperor within the context of specific values of Roman *civilitas*, of power and strength and heroism. Imperial rulership was given a local meaning through emperor worship, by assimilation of the emperor with local gods and personifications and by adapting the sculpted image of the emperor to local stylistic and technical norms. Even so, the portrait head and the body types remained the same across the Empire. The body types were icons of the power and culture of *romanitas*; they were universally paradigmatic and were never adapted to local conditions. Unlike the portrait head itself body types did not rigidly follow one centrally designed model. They could be varied in stance, posture and details of drapery. The addition of an attribute could change their meaning but it was always within the framework of the standardized type. The emperor was not represented in local provincial costumes nor in the traditional himation, which had been worn for centuries in the Greek world as symbol of the ideal citizen.¹⁰⁵ Although literary sources write of emperors, and in particular of Hadrian, dressing up in Greek costume, there is no evidence that the Roman emperor ever wore a Greek himation.¹⁰⁶ The often discussed statue of a man in himation, wearing a wreath around his head found in the temple of Apollo in Cyrene and identified as Hadrian is highly problematic for many reasons (fig. 316):¹⁰⁷ firstly, the head is detached from the body and has been joined with the statue sometime during antiquity (or even in modern times?) and it is not certain that it belongs to the body at all; secondly, the portrait does not correspond to any of the centrally designed portrait types of Hadrian; thirdly, the type of wreath is unusual for an emperor and it is therefore possible that we confront the portrait of a private person who simply followed imperial fashions.¹⁰⁸ An inscription found in the temple of Apollo honouring Hadrian and, of course, the resemblance of the head to well-established portrait types of him led the excavators, Smith and Porscher to identify the statue as Hadrian.¹⁰⁹ However, the inscription honouring Hadrian was not the only one found in the temple. The dis-

Fig. 316

Statue of a man, probably a local priest, in himation found in the temple of Apollo in Cyrene. Marble. Height: 2.11m. London, British Museum.



covery also included inscriptions honouring local priests, and it may be that the statue in question, as well as a further himation statue identified as Nerva, depict these local figures.¹¹⁰ Even if we do accept the portrait heads as representations of Roman emperors that do not follow the centrally designed models, they may have been restored on the statues. A portrait head of Marcus Aurelius, likewise from Cyrene, has been restored on a statue, which once depicted a draped female figure probably sometime during the fourth century A.D. (fig. 317).¹¹¹ But this statue was recut into a toga statue suitable for a Roman emperor. The breasts have been cut away and the drapery between the ankles of the figure has been altered into the *lacinia* of a toga. Lastly, a bronze statue from the Sebasteion in Boubon in Asia Minor showing Marcus Aurelius in *chiton* and himation is probably a Roman pastiche with the portrait head being mounted on a reused Hellenistic body.¹¹² The only other possible candidate of an emperor in himation are the two statues in the Louvre apparently from Italy and tentatively identified as Iulianus Apostata. This identification, however, is not at all secure.¹¹³

The body types of the emperor represented a visual canon of his qualities and public functions. It might seem that certain statuary modes were preferred for specific contexts. A number of case studies of the relationship between body types and their contexts have however shown that except for general chronological preferences for the toga statue during the Early Empire and the cuirass statue from the late first century A.D. on, such generalisations are highly problematic: body types cannot be rigidly categorised because the same body type could be used in a variety of contexts and given different meanings accordingly. Only careful analysis of each individual context may explain a specific choice of body mode.¹¹⁴ This is valid with regard to the precise location where the statue was displayed and for geographical regions. The latter is further explored in the discussion of the toga statue below, while the former can be illustrated by a study of the nude statue.

The toga was worn by the emperor right from the time of Augustus into Late Antiquity and evoked associations of the *civilitas* that the emperor shared with his fellow citizens and holders of public office. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans usually pulled the toga over the back of the head when performing sacrifices,¹¹⁵ but during the Early Empire the *capite velato* habit became associated above all with the iconography and worship of the emperor.¹¹⁶ Augustus is depicted standing in *toga capite velato* performing the ritual of sacrifice in the main scene of the reliefs of the Ara Pacis and on the reverse of coins. A number of free-standing statues show him wearing the *toga capite velato*.¹¹⁷ Even though it is only on the relief and on coins that Augustus is actually engaged in a sacrifice, the free-standing statues no doubt referred if not to the sac-

Fig. 317

Statue of Marcus Aurelius found in Cyrene. The body is that of a reused female statue. Marble. Cyrene Museum.



rifice itself – the majority of the *capite velato* statues have the right arm lowered and were probably originally holding a now lost phiale – then to all the qualities associated with the act, first and foremost *pietas*, and the recognition of age-old religious traditions (fig. 112).¹¹⁸ As has been suggested earlier, there is no evidence that the *capite velato* habit referred to Augustus exclusively in his role as *Pontifex Maximus*, which he became in 12 B.C. Not only did he appear *capite velato* long before that but it is likely that the *capite velato* habit had a variety of meanings in Augustan imagery.¹¹⁹ The inspiration for its notable popularity during that period probably came from Augustus' immediate predecessors. Both Caesar and Antonius were depicted on coins with their portrait head *capite velato*, and a *lituus* in the background. They are accompanied by the legend *Parens Patriae* stressing the association between the priestly role and the role as paternal protector of the fatherland.¹²⁰ Even though Augustus did not repeat these coin types,¹²¹ and even though he waited until 5 February 2 B.C. before he took the *Pater Patriae* title, the title was very important. The *capite velato* habit may well have been a suitable choice, albeit not a new one, for propagating Augustus' paternal protection of the Empire. Just as important though, was the introduction of the worship of *Genius Augusti* in the compital cult in 7 B.C. Small bronze statuettes in the form of a *togatus capite velato*, an important marker in the cult, must have been everywhere in Rome and Italian cities (fig. 56). Even though the bronze statuettes are of a generic type rather than being portraits (in the household shrine they represented the *Genius* of the *Pater Familias*) they no doubt evoked associations of the emperor who was usually represented in that statuary mode. The *caput toga velatum* habit was also worn by priests of the important pontifical colleges as well as by the *magistri*, freedmen priests in the compital cult. Representations on small compital altars show *magistri* veiled when performing offerings to the *Genius* of the emperor and the habit therefore evoked his cultic presence.

Toga statues with the *capite velato* head of Augustus had a very wide geographic distribution following the general distribution pattern of portraits of Augustus,¹²² but their meaning varied according to context. From Greece there is no evidence that private people wore the *toga capite velato*. It is significant that most of the toga statues from Greece, up to the end of the first century A.D. which can be identified as representing a member of the imperial house, are depicted *capite velato*. This suggests that to the Greeks this foreign habit, highly unfamiliar in a religious context, propagated a very general role of the emperor. The Greeks probably perceived the new emperor as *capite velato*, just as they perceived the Romans as the *Gens Tögata*. There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that the *capite velato* habit epitomized important and very varied

aspects of Augustus' rulership:¹²³ his role as priest conducting sacrifice, his *pietas* and safe-guarding of the ancient religious traditions; his role as *euergete*; his cultic presence; his role as paternal protector of the Empire, and in a local Greek context the very essence of imperial rulership. The many large Julio-Claudian family groups depicting all the male members in *toga capite velato* not only confirm the importance of the habit during the Early Empire but also the range of meanings that it could evoke.

The toga statue gradually lost popularity during the first century A.D. and the emperor was increasingly often represented in the cuirass and in the nude. The wearing of the *toga capite velato* retained its popularity to the end of the Augustan period after which it is usually deployed by the emperor when performing the act of sacrifice symbolizing his concern for maintaining satisfactory relations with the gods.¹²⁴ In the context of sacrifice the emperor may hold the appropriate *phiale* or a book scroll symbolizing the religious calendar or the prayers that would be expected to be recited by him.¹²⁵ The toga is now more often worn with the *corona civica*, which is the most frequently deployed headgear for free-standing statuary of the emperor during the whole imperial period.¹²⁶ In principal, therefore, the toga and the *corona civica*, which were both rarely deployed on coins as we saw above, epitomized the virtues that the emperor shared with most Roman citizens when he was represented in the free-standing statue. However, as the *corona civica* quickly became an imperial insignium it also sent a clear message about the emperor's superior status even among equals.

From about A.D. 50 the cult of the *Genius Augusti* was integrated with the state cult and sometime before 64-66 as evidenced by coins of Nero, the *Genius Augusti* was no longer represented as a *togatus capite velato* but as a semi-nude youth wearing only a hip-mantle and holding a *cornucopia* identical to representations of the *Genius Populi Romani*.¹²⁷ Exactly when this representation of the *Genius Augusti* was introduced remains uncertain but it is possible that it dates back to Augustus.¹²⁸ Perhaps in the long term the traditional *togatus capite velato* was too closely associated with the civilian citizen and the traditional worship of the *Pater Familias*, often performed by freedmen and slaves. Nudity inevitably smacked of Hellenistic kingship but when the iconography was taken over from that of the *Genius Populi Romani* it positioned the emperor among the Republican people and in the Republican tradition.¹²⁹ With the introduction of the semi-nude *Genius Augusti*, nudity could be deployed in Rome without offending the feelings of the Senate and it could be used to propagate the bond between the People and the emperor. The semi-nude hip-mantle statue, which had been used by Augustus for the cult image of *Divus Julius* could now be safely blended with the

iconography of the living emperor. Accordingly, the hip-mantle statue (without *cornucopia* the specific attribute of fertility of the *Genius*) became one of the statuary formats most frequently favoured by the Iulio-Claudians.

Even though the semi-nude hip-mantle body type quickly went out of fashion again, nudity appealed to successive emperors. The fully nude statue was at first avoided in Rome but not in the East, and it was soon commonly deployed by the emperor in the capital.¹³⁰ Portrait statues of the emperor in the nude were not confined to any specific physical context or function and the habit was probably used to make a statement about his extraordinary and supernatural character. The habit was no doubt very appropriate for cultic worship. In the so-called Basilica in Herculaneum, Augustus was represented in hip-mantle with the thunderbolt of Jupiter, while Claudius is completely nude, holding only a spear.¹³¹ The statues of Vespasian and Titus in the nude with only shoulder-bunch mantle and carrying swords reflecting classical images of Diomedes from the *Templum Augusti* in the small provincial Campanian town of Misenum, are in spite of their crude carving and squat proportions persuasive as cult images and as dynastic images because of their repetitive nudity, pose and size (figs. 36–38 and plates 6–7). In Boubon the bodies (not reused) were nude, while from the sacellum of Narona all three main body types, the togate, the cuirassed and the heroic nude (hip-mantle), were deployed. The latter find warns against excessively rigid and functional interpretations of different body types. Nudity was appropriate for signifying divinity or supernatural power as these examples illustrate, but it could also have a variety of other meanings according to context. It may denote youth and athletic strength when deployed in Greece, as suggested by the imperial statue group from the basilica in Corinth. The group shows Augustus in *toga capite velato* while the young heirs Gaius and Lucius Caesar are both in the nude. Nudity may also represent masculinity and strength, as when Hadrian is depicted in the nude juxtaposed with his wife Sabina's submissively concealed body in the theatre of Vaison. Nudity was also commonly deployed for the representation of deified emperors in the body format and with attributes of a semi-nude enthroned Jupiter. The nude and semi-nude statue remained a popular representational form for the emperor into the third century.

Octavian had followed Caesar's example and made use of the cuirass but only very rarely – after all, it was with the Pax Romana that he most wanted to be associated.¹³² It is therefore a paradox that the most famous cuirassed statue to have survived is that of Augustus from Prima Porta.¹³³ Even though the Iulio-Claudian princes made use of the cuirass it was never an important mode of representation during the Iulio-

Claudian period. In the numerous preserved Iulio-Claudian imperial statuary groups, the toga, usually worn *capite velato*, is overwhelmingly dominant, constituting about 59% (101 out of 172) of all the male statues. Heroic, partially nude statues take up 26% while the cuirass statues take up 15%.¹³⁴ The statue of Augustus found at Prima Porta, is the only safely identified statue of Augustus in cuirass (plate 13).¹³⁵ A handful of the more than 200 identified portrait heads of Augustus may however derive from cuirass statues, to judge from their angular neck termination, suitable for insertion into a cuirass statue.¹³⁶

What was it that provoked the admittedly limited and cautious introduction of the cuirass into the repertoire of Roman statuary habits during the very Late Republic and Early Empire? It could be argued that because the cuirass was an important element in the representation of Hellenistic kings (and the war god Mars) it was considered appropriate for expressing the outstanding position of the late Republican political and military leader and the Roman emperor. However, we have seen that the nude figure was preferred by prominent individuals of the Late Republic and by Octavianus/Augustus for representations in situations where the toga statue was not considered suitable. It seems, therefore, that there was now a need for a previously irrelevant aspect of representation that reflected a particular relationship with the army. If the heroic, nude representation of military leaders had previously referred to myth, strength, charisma and manliness more than to actual military achievements, the shift towards a clear-cut military habit must have suited new needs and ideologies. During the Late Republic and the Early Empire the Roman army and Roman soldiers developed the need for very personalized relationships with their leaders. Social conflict in Roman society generated a necessity for a clear identity. The only identity the soldiers of the Roman legions could aspire to was related to their leaders, of whom the emperor was the most important.¹³⁷ Military leaders could respond to this need in many ways but the mode of representation was crucial. Depicting a leader in costumes that corresponded to the realm of a soldier the leader's position appeared to correspond to and share values with that of a soldier. When, much later, Hadrian was personally present among the soldiers, he was reputed to have worn simple everyday clothes "...*vestem humillimam...*"¹³⁸ in order to identify with his men. But while most of the Selucid Kings fell on the battlefield next to their fellow soldiers, late Republican generals and early emperors were not present among the soldiers *in persona* but rather through their images. In constructing this very important common identity between soldiers and their leaders, the mode in which these images of the leaders were published played an essential role. This may be why Iulio-Claudian princes who were very close to the army were more often repre-



Fig. 318
Detail of a standard with imperial image from a relief from the so-called Arch of Claudius. Ca. A.D. 117. Rome, Villa Borghese.

sented in cuirass than Augustus himself. The introduction of the cuirass statue to the Roman statuary repertoire therefore had little to do with the increasing influence of the army, as is often argued – this may be the reason while the cuirass statuary habit gradually became more and more popular during the imperial period – but it was a response to a change of mentality among the soldiers in the Roman legions. The need for ‘personal’ contact and a common identity between soldiers and the general/emperor during the Late Republic and Early Empire may also have been responsible for the production of small glass or bronze discs, *phalerae*, bearing the image of the emperor during that period. They would be given to a soldier as a special recognition of his services and were worn on the uniform during parades (fig. 318).¹³⁹

The image of the emperor within the army served a variety of functions. It was an important element in the shield-shaped portraits on the standards which signified the identity of each military unit. The soldiers swore their oath, *sacramentum*, to the standards; they could seek *asylum* by the standards and the standards were considered to have magical powers.¹⁴⁰ Significantly, the standards were kept in the camp sanctuary when not in use. The statues of the emperor, usually set up by the military units or their leaders, were not set up in the sanctuary but in the basilica or the courtyard of the *principia*. This context stressed

the emperor's role as a warrior and protector of the Empire with whom the soldiers could relate and identify.

Defining the emperor's head

The practice of *damnatio memoriae* leaves no doubt that the Romans regarded the emperor's head as the prime embodiment of his identity. Body types deployed by the emperor could change meaning in accordance with the context in which they were displayed, but each body type also evoked associations with the emperor's basic roles. The emperor's head, on the other hand, remained the same, whatever the body or bust type that it was presented with, and regardless of the context in which it was displayed. Even though the emperor was usually depicted in a number of different portrait types during the course of his reign and even though some portrait types were in use simultaneously, there is no evidence that a specific portrait type was preferred for a specific context or body type. In fact, quite the opposite was the case.¹⁴¹ Each portrait type of the emperor had to express simultaneously the cardinal values and identities that characterized a good ruler. Apart from ideological concerns there were a number of practical issues that a portrait type of the emperor should embrace. Firstly, the interaction between the personal presence of the emperor in the capital and when travelling in the provinces, and his portraits on coins and his honorific statues makes it likely (though not imperative) that certain traits of his physiognomic characteristics were recaptured in the artistic transformation into portrait image. This would have been particularly relevant during the Early and Middle Empire when most emperors spent a considerable part of their reign in Rome. Secondly, there had to be some very general traits such as the length of the hair, the length of the beard or having no beard at all – so that he would immediately be recognized as a contemporary figure. Attributes and prominent location would usually distinguish a statue of an emperor from other honorific statues, and the basic traits of his head would place him within the context of the period face. The image would immediately signal tradition or innovation with regard to previous imperial representation, and it would blend in with images of contemporary private people. Thirdly and perhaps most importantly, details of physiognomy and/or of the hairstyle needed to single out the identity of each individual emperor and make him recognizable. Such details should be clearly defined in the prototype and should be easy to replicate according to the technical state-of-the-art at that time. In the process of replication, such details are much more difficult to reproduce in the physiognomy than in the hairstyle – there is



Fig. 319
Hair of Commodus. The face was cut away in the 18th century probably because it had been damaged in antiquity following the emperor's *damnatio memoriae*.
Marble. Height: 0.32m.
Liverpool Museum.

always the risk of turning strong physiognomy into caricature. The arrangement of the locks on the forehead forms the best opportunity for defining and reproducing again and again such clearly distinctive details, which single out the emperor's portrait from those very similar but never identical portraits of private citizens. In the Early Empire when bronze may have been as popular a material as marble, and marble techniques were based on carving with the chisel rather than drilling, long, sweeping locks, clearly separated from each other were preferred. During the second century A.D. when sculptors played with light and shadow using deep undercutting and drilling, individual curls became much smaller and 'busier' and instead of four or five distinctive front locks, multiple locks would together form a distinctive hairline or pattern. Even when Hadrian introduced the full-grown beard¹⁴² into imperial iconography, the emperor's hair remained a key element in his portraits. How much emphasis was placed on hair may be exemplified in a fragment of a portrait of Commodus (fig. 319). The whole front part of the head has been chiselled away leaving only the hairstyle intact. Around the hairline, there are three small locks of front hair and a large lock above the small central lock, which means that there can be no doubt that it once belonged to a portrait of Commodus in his third portrait type, Typus Busti 368.¹⁴³ The second century A.D. was a period when replication had reached a very sophisticated level and copies of a specific portrait

type show very little variation in comparison to the Early Empire. However, had part of the emperor's face without hair been preserved, identification would not have been so easy. An over life-size head without beard but with a physiognomy like that of Commodus is usually identified as a representation of Commodus as Sol because there are holes for attachments of metal rays in the hair. The arrangement of the frontal hair locks are similar to but do not follow precisely any of the well-established portrait types of Commodus. The identification of the head as a representation of Commodus Sol has recently been challenged by Christopher Hallett who argues that we may be confronting a representation of Sol with Commodoan formal and stylistic traits.¹⁴⁴

For more than 250 years the arrangement of the emperor's hair remained a key element in his representation and identification. I do not suggest that the ancient viewer consciously counted the locks of hair on an emperor's forehead. Rather, it seems that the front locks of hair constituted an important element in the overall recognizability of an emperor's portrait. At the same time they were a key element in the portrait that was easy to replicate. This may be further supported by the portraits of the empress. In their statuary representation Roman empresses wore hairstyles that were just as complicated as those of emperors, or even more so. It would have been easy to define a twist of a strand of hair or the direction of a set of curls as the primary characteristics of a particular portrait type of the empress. Yet, there are no such features in the empress portrait that would distinguish her from private women, as I demonstrated above. On the contrary, the portrait of the empress was styled so similarly to those of her fellow elite women that a clearly identifiable image of her was purposely obscured. It appears that a vital function of her portrait was to show her as similar to other elite women.

It was Vespasian who broke the tradition of laying emphasis on the emperor's hair. One suspects that a combination of two issues is at stake here: firstly, a strong need for demonstrating that Nero's regime had been overthrown and that the new man in power valued the old Republican ideals; and secondly that Vespasian might have been large, bald and wrinkled in real life (plates 7 and 38b). Without any characteristic arrangement of the hair on the forehead, the workshop responsible for creating the first portrait type of Vespasian instead opted for a very strong physiognomy that would both make him easy to recognize and identify and reasonably easy to replicate. This portrait type of Vespasian may have been thought to be on the borders of caricature because when it was revised in the course of his reign the new type shows him with more hair, and his facial features are less pronounced.¹⁴⁵

Conditioned by dynastic awareness and the need for a continuous dialogue with the past, successive emperors had the choice of demon-

strating continuity with the past in their public image, or of creating new combinations of old well-known traits. They could also make a radical change but still within the framework of a familiar repertoire of self-representation. Vespasian chose to change his portrait drastically by omitting the hair and putting the emphasis on old-age and strong physiognomy similar to portraiture in the Republican period. Hadrian's beard and his carefully styled curly hair drew on the Greek urban citizen portrait. Caracalla's short-cropped hair and stubbed beard were likewise a novelty in imperial iconography but had a long tradition in the iconography of the Roman soldier on state reliefs (figs. 165, 203, 205). The Tethracians' combination of exaggerated physiognomy and short-cropped hair and beard drew on a new combination and interpretation of Republican and third century A.D. styles.¹⁴⁶ Different emperors radically changed their hairstyles no doubt also for ideological reasons, although artistic innovation and technical improvements should not be ignored either. But the representations always boast complicated but clearly identifiable patterns in the front locks of the hair. When Caracalla as the first emperor was depicted with short-cut hair and beard in his so-called Sole ruler portrait type it constituted a significant break with his father Septimius Severus' civilized citizen portrait and with 250 years of strong emphasis on the emperor's hair. Caracalla's portrait represents a different kind of emperor. It expressed an ideology emphasising the fact that the new strength of the Empire was based on the army. Hair is no longer of importance but a gruff, almost parodic facial expression becomes the prime characteristic of the portrait. From now on the emperor has a stubbled beard. His hair becomes increasingly shorter, while his physiognomy becomes more extreme and individuated through physiognomic details which were gradually developing into the unnatural features that had been current already before the end of the third century A.D. However, when Constantine reintroduced the youthful, idealized beardless portrait into imperial iconography his typical fringe hairstyle had no particular characteristics.¹⁴⁷ It is therefore almost impossible to distinguish one late Antique emperor from another. The new royal diadem had made such detailed distinction unnecessary because it would immediately identify the person who wore it as imperial.

Commissioning of prototypes

I have argued that the constant display of free-standing portrait statues of the emperor in Rome had the primary function of making him recognizable and identifiable. Why then was he not represented throughout his reign with the same portrait type? Why did some emperors pre-

fer a drastic restyling in a new portrait type in the course of their reign, while others were satisfied with a small alteration of the direction of a front hair curl? And why are some emperors represented in up to seven different portrait types (the empress Faustina Minor even had nine or more) while for others one or two main types sufficed? As the phenomenon cannot be answered by reference to the gradual aging of the emperor (or empress) – the reverse development seems to be the case of Vespasian – it requires further scrutiny.¹⁴⁸

First of all it must be stressed that we do not have literary, epigraphic or archaeological evidence in support of any hypothesis about how the system of commissioning would have worked.¹⁴⁹ There is plenty of epigraphical evidence for imperial freedmen engaged in running the imperially owned quarries and in working in different functions in the mint. We know of servants and freedmen with highly specialised functions at the court in Rome, such as being in charge of the emperor's triumphal costumes, and there were many other duties associated with imperial representation, but there is no evidence for concern (imperial, senatorial or other) for the commissioning of the emperor's portraits.¹⁵⁰ This 'silence' and 'invisibility' is probably closely connected to the very success of the imperial image. It was in the interests of the imperial administration to draw as little attention as possible to any deliberate involvement in the publication of the imperial image.

It could therefore be argued that the question of how the system of commissioning imperial portrait types worked is more theoretical than real. The lack of sources means that we will probably never know much about it for certain, though there can be no doubt that the prototypes expressed what the emperor or the regime wanted or approved of. What matters is how we interpret the portrait types and ultimately how we believe that the ancient viewer perceived them. However, when the interpretations, to some extent at least, are based on how we perceive the manner in which the process of commissioning, manufacturing and even distribution worked, the question becomes important. The so-called Serapis portrait type of Septimius Severus may serve as an example. It is one of the most successful imperial portrait types if we judge by the large number of copies to have survived and by their wide geographical distribution (fig. 320). It shows the emperor with a long beard and curly hair, which is arranged in four long distinct corkscrew locks falling onto the forehead. As the Egyptian god Serapis is likewise depicted with curly (though much longer) hair and four corkscrew locks on his forehead, the portrait type of Septimius Severus was named the Serapis type, and thought to have been commissioned around 200, after Septimius Severus' journey into Egypt during 199/200. The dating is supported by numismatic evidence. But it is in fact impossible to identify the four long

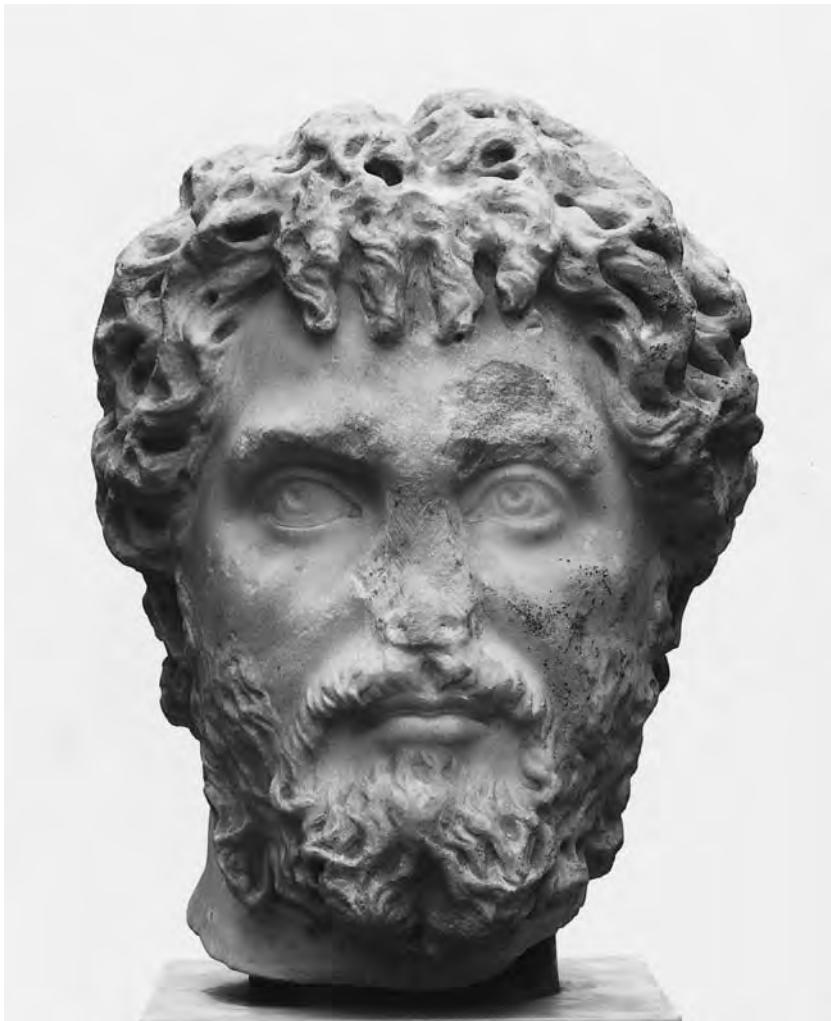


Fig. 320
Head of Septimius
Severus in the so-called
Serapis type. Marble.
Height: 0.3m. Copen-
hagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek.

corkscrew locks which are so characteristic of the type when viewed *en face* in the miniature profile of the emperor on the coins. There is no conclusive evidence in the numismatic material for such a late date and the fact that the type is one of the most frequently replicated portrait types of a Roman emperor means that it is more likely to have been commissioned early in Septimius Severus' reign, around 196/197.¹⁵¹ Whatever its date, the question is whether we interpret the type as commissioned because the emperor became so fascinated with the Egyptian god Serapis during his journey to Egypt in 199-200 A.D. that he wanted the whole Empire to know about it by being depicted like or as the god. Or whether the type should be interpreted as reflecting interaction with a style that already prevailed in portraits of private persons. In that

case it may not have anything to do with Serapis, but rather with the expression of luxury and *cultus*.¹⁵²

There can be no doubt that the imperial portrait was centrally designed, and that models were made available centrally for replication. This is the only way of accounting for the general ideological content of the imperial portrait, and for the large number of copies which follow the same model; it also accounts for their wide distribution across the Empire. The phenomenon was first systematically described by Klaus Fittschen, who suggests a system of centrally defined prototypes which are commissioned with an artist in Rome. This artist would produce a model or prototype which may have been of clay, plaster or wax.¹⁵³ The model was then sent to the die carvers of the central mint, who transformed it into two dimensional profile portraits in miniature for the coin obverses, and to a sculptor who transformed it into durable material in marble and bronze. These latter were then sent to the imperial workshops in Rome which produced further copies in bronze or marble for distribution to local workshops. This model has been extremely influential and is useful for drawing distinctions between multiply copied centrally defined 'official' prototypes, almost always representing imperial persons and portraits of private people.¹⁵⁴ It has also created a platform for detailed studies on the production of individual copies or series of copies of a portrait type, which in turn provide the basis for obtaining a clear understanding of the (lost) prototype and the variations that occurred when copied and perceived in the provinces, as demonstrated by Dietrich Boschung for Augustus.¹⁵⁵ Such a system, however, does not fully engage with the essential first stage in the process, the commissioning of the prototype. It has been the *opinio communis* among scholars who have addressed the question that the emperor himself (or the court) was in charge of commissioning new prototypes.¹⁵⁶ It is also the *opinio communis* that these were commissioned in order to celebrate certain events that were of such significance that they needed to be marked by a new portrait type, for example Septimius Severus' journey to Egypt.¹⁵⁷ Such events typically include the emperor's accession, his jubilees including the *deccennalia*, the *vicennalia* and the *quindecennalia*, his safe return to Rome from a military campaign, military victories, marriage, the acceptance of the *Pater Patriae* title, or one of the numerous nominations to a consulate. The foundation for associating imperial events with the creation of new prototypes goes back to Max Wegner's attempts to date imperial prototypes precisely. It has not really been questioned in later scholarship. In short, there seems in broad terms to be consensus that the commissioning of imperial portrait types operated within a tightly controlled system. Within this system the emperor or the court was responsible for the ordering of new types, in order

to celebrate specific historical events or key political and ideological matters. Wegner and later scholars support their datings of prototypes with numismatic evidence.

Yet the numismatic material fails for several reasons: Comparison between plastic portraits and coin portraits is difficult because of the difference in media. One of the most characteristic elements of an imperial prototype is the arrangement of the locks on the forehead. This arrangement was designed for replication in three-dimensional copies. It is usually located too much towards the centre of the head to be accounted for in the transformation into a two-dimensional miniature profile image on a coin. Furthermore, there are too few established sequences of series of the coins to provide absolute datings; this is the case for example with the coins of Trajan minted between A.D. 103 and 111, during which period he maintained his fifth consulate and did not acquire any new titles. Lastly, the relation between coin portraits and portraits in the round is not as close as is generally assumed. This implies that a newly conceived portrait type would not necessarily have been delivered for use to both the die carver and the court sculptor. By examining the basic arguments for the dating of imperial portrait types in detail I have shown elsewhere that a number of these types that are usually dated according to specific political events and usually (though not always) on the basis of dubious comparisons with coins have in fact been wrongly dated. Again, it is not the adjustment of the date of a portrait type *per se* which has been my concern here. Rather, I am concerned with how dates which themselves may rest on very unstable foundations, have influenced the interpretation of portrait types. This in turn relates to the way in which the system of commissioning portrait types of the emperor functioned, and therefore with the larger question of what essentially constituted the imperial portrait.

The portraits of Trajan have been the subjects of several excellent studies. There is agreement among scholars that he was depicted with at least six different centrally defined portrait types during his twenty-year long reign (figs. 321–326).¹⁵⁸ There are only minor differences or adjustments between the types, in particular in the front hair locks, and they cannot be identified clearly on the coinage. However, the plastic portraits fall in two main groups. The first group comprises two of the types and shows the emperor with a full, somewhat fleshy face, marked by signs of old-age in the deep nasolabial folds, the baggy eyelids, the furrowed brow and the thin mouth. The flat hairstyle clings to the skull and is combed deeply onto the forehead. The second group consisting of four types shows him with the same signs of age but with a slimmer more bony face and a more voluminous hairstyle. In this group too, the fronthair is combed deeply onto the forehead but it is arranged in



Fig. 321
Portrait of Trajan in his
supposed first portrait

type, recognizable
through the small centre
parting in the fronthair.
Marble. Height: 0.24m.

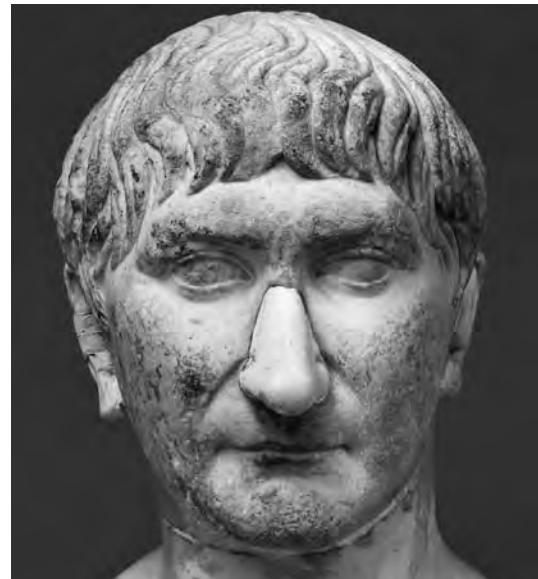
Paris, Louvre.

Fig. 322
Portrait statue of Trajan
in his supposed second

portrait type the so-
called Bürgerkronentypus.
The small parting in
the fronthair over the left
eye characterize the type.
Marble. Height of statue:

1.32m. Height of head:
0.26m. Copenhagen, Ny
Carlsberg Glyptotek.

thick, mobile and differentiated locks, forming a distinctly more complicated pattern above or just off the center of the forehead. In the first group the two types (the so-called First portrait type and the so-called Bürgerkronentypus) are only distinguishable from each other because the 'First portrait type' has a minimal parting in the mass of fronthair just off the centre of the forehead. Marianne Bergmann has shown that these must constitute the earliest portrait types of the emperor. The copies within both types are almost all reworked from images of Domitian which leave not only clear traces of recutting behind the ears and at the back of the head but also in the differentiated and somewhat uneven treatment of the physiognomy between the individual copies (fig. 327). The somewhat fleshy face may also be a conscious reference to what the portrait was before it was cut into an image of Trajan. After the Senate had confined the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian, his portraits were recarved into likenesses of his immediate successor Nerva.¹⁵⁹ The recarving of Domitian's portraits continued during the reign of Trajan and the vast majority of the copies of Trajan's 'First portrait type' and the 'Bürgerkronentypus' are recarved from portraits of the earlier emperor. This suggests that these two types may be the earliest of the six portrait types of Trajan, as Bergmann has convincingly argued. According to Bergmann one type may have been conceived in October 97 in connection with Trajan's adoption by Nerva, while the second 'Bürgerkronentypus', usually dated to A.D. 103, should be connected to Trajan's



accession to the throne.¹⁶⁰ Of the four remaining types, all showing a very similar but more voluminous hairstyle, one, the so-called Typus Paris 1250-Mariemont has been associated with Trajan taking the title *Parthicicus* in A.D. 116,¹⁶¹ while a second type, the so-called Dezennalientypus, is believed to have been created in 108 to celebrate Trajan's ten-years jubilee. It shows Trajan with the fronthair locks separated by a small parting above his right eye. Since Walter Hatto Gross' publication on the portraiture of Trajan in the series *Das römische Herrscherbild* from 1940, the 'Dezennalientypus' has been generally accepted to date to A.D. 108. Because the securely dated sculpted reliefs with portraits of Trajan are later than his fifth consulate and therefore of no help for a closer dating of the type, the date of the 'Dezennalientypus' is based on numismatic evidence alone. This dating and the interpretation of the type is however associated with a number of problems. Firstly, Trajan's numismatic decennial jubilee fell from 10th December to the 9th December 105-106.¹⁶² Secondly, Gross based his dating of the type according to its appearance on coins and the investigations carried out and published by Strack. The type with large naked breast piece seen in three quarter view with either *paludamentum* or *aegis* on the far shoulder and sometimes combined with sword belt (almost certainly part of the prototype, as the same bust piece is depicted on coins and repeated more times in the portait busts in the round) showing Trajan with his head turned strongly towards the left and a parting in the hair above the right eye, dates, according to Stack, to A.D. 108 (fig. 328; strack typus Tε). Strack sug-

Fig. 323
Portrait bust of Trajan in his so-called Dezennalientypus. Marble. Height (including foot): 0.74m. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori.

Fig. 324
Portrait of Trajan in the so-called Paris 1250-Mariemont type. Marble. Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti.



Fig. 325
Portrait of Trajan in his
so-called Opferbild type.
Marble. Toulouse, Musée
Saint Raymont.

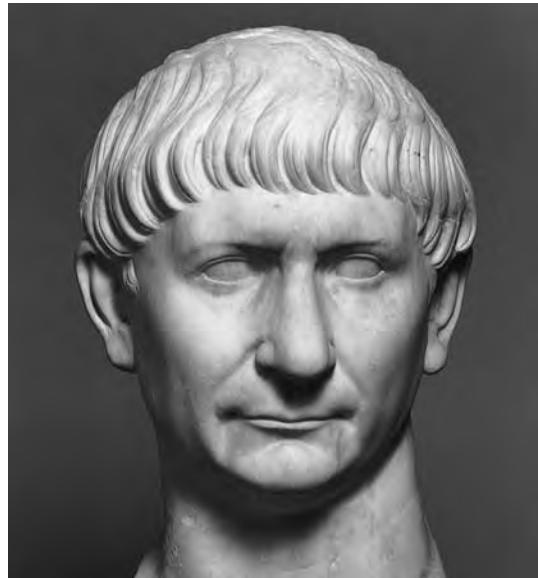


Fig. 326
Portrait of Trajan in his
so-called Wienerbüste
type. Marble. Munich,
Glyptothek.

gests that "Es scheint mir mit Hilfe dieser Münzen möglich, jene Büste als das aus Anlaß der Decennalien neu geschaffene offiziöse Herrscherbildnis zu bestimmen"¹⁶³ and further on its dependence on the Strack Typus TΔ "beginnend mit den Decennalien im Anfang des Jahres 108 etwa die vier letzten Jahre des 5. Konsulats".¹⁶⁴ However, the dating of the coinage of Trajan minted in his fifth consulate between A.D. 103 and 111 presents problems, and Strack partly based his absolute chronology on the development of the portrait – physiognomic details and representation of age. In that approach Strack neglected the role of the different *oficinae* and according to Mattingly, Strack's type Tε is rare, and "only comes in *circa* A.D. 110–111,"¹⁶⁵ continuing into the sixth consulship.¹⁶⁶ Jucker, on the other hand, dated the series to A.D. 104.¹⁶⁷ He did not see an obvious connection between the coin type and the plastic portrait bust, which he believes is not represented in the coinage. Jucker suggests that the plastic bust type was created to celebrate Trajan's triumph over the Dacians in A.D. 107.¹⁶⁸ In this case the traditional dating and interpretation form the basis for inventing a new event that sparked the commissioning of the type. But is the modern interpretation of the bust – as representing Trajan with a strong military accent as the confident victor of the Dacian wars – not influenced by the dating to A.D. 108? The recutting of his earlier portraits from portraits of the condemned Domitian makes a clear statement about the rejection of any resemblance to Domitian's despotic reign, with its violent persecutions and paranoia.¹⁶⁹ Trajan's reign was from the outset concerned



with the rejection of Domitian's image. He showed strength and moderation and he stood as a guarantor of *securitas* and *liberalitas* – “No father now need to fear more for his son than the hazards of human frailty”. This reign was the beginning of what Edward Gibbon characterized as the “most happy and prosperous for the condition of the human race”.¹⁷⁰ Certainly, the state reliefs laid emphasis on Trajan as a successful warrior. But his portrait images, intended to be contemplated at close hand in Rome and across the Empire, show him often in the so-called Dezennalientypus. In this he has an energetic turn of the head and a distant look, with signs of age reduced to a minimum so as not to distract from the overall impression of calmness and authority. The portraits convey the notion of the emperor as guarantor of the eternal power of the civilized world and values of moderation instead of excess. Four of the copies of the ‘Dezennalientypus’ are preserved with nude busts, with sword belt and *paludamentum*. Without a basis for a dating after the Dacian triumph and the decennial celebration, these heroic military attributes might refer to a general concern for *Constantia* and the courage, determination and moderation that are demanded of an emperor: “He nonetheless surpassed his military glory with his civility and his moderation.”¹⁷¹ The impact which the portrait type and its distinctive breast piece had on portrait representation of private individuals shows just how important an aspect of Trajan’s policy the bust was.¹⁷² In any case, without a thorough investigation of the sequence of the series of coins which may throw new light on this problem it must be questioned whether the ‘Dezennalientypus’ had anything to do with the year A.D.

Fig. 327
Profile of head of Trajan
Fig. 328. There are clear traces in the hair at the back of the head that it has been recarved from a portrait of Domitian.

Fig. 328
Sestertius struck during Trajan's fifth consulate showing the emperor with *paludamentum* and *egis*.

105 or 106 or 107 or 108 or whatever year is preferred. It seems safest to assume that its date is within the wide range from 103 to 111.

For several imperial prototypes we would have to invent new events that would have inspired their commissioning.¹⁷³ This would not be difficult because for every year one could grasp at several anniversaries. If we accept, however, that this was not necessarily how the system always worked, there is room for more flexibility. The idea that highly specialized workshops were responsible for the distribution of emperor portraits from Rome to provincial workshops as well as for the ideological messages which the imperial portraits no doubt propagated has probably sparked the assumption that prototypes could only have been designed and strictly controlled by the court. But poetry and panegyric also carried ideological messages and no directives were apparently necessary there. It was probably in the interests of both the poet and the emperor that the praise appeared to be spontaneous.¹⁷⁴ Pfanner's investigation of the techniques involved in the manufacture of imperial portraits and his conclusion that only centralized and specialized workshops could produce the number and quality of portraits needed, is important. However, it does not necessarily imply that the commissioning of new prototypes was restricted to the court. Conversely, one could argue that we assume a strictly controlled system because of the standardization and practical specialization. In fact, it is still an open question to what extent there is evidence for such specialized workshops in Rome. In addition, there is evidence that a substantial number of imperial portrait types cannot be identified in the coinage showing that there is no complete correspondence between coin and plastic portrait types. This may suggest that the creation of imperial portrait types was not restricted to official commissions only. Perhaps the specialized sculpture workshops were continuously working on new prototypes and competing in showing their loyalty to the court or following the demands of the market. The creation of prototypes could perfectly well have taken place under the influence of general ideological trends emerging from the court. This leaves open the possibility that the imperial image to a much larger extent interacted with portraits of private people as discussed above. It may be for this reason that Faustina Minor was represented with nine different hairstyles i.e. portrait types during her life, while her husband Marcus Aurelius is depicted in only four. Perhaps it suited the empress that her portrait was constantly updated by the workshops in order to follow the rapidly changing fashions of her fellow elite women?¹⁷⁵ It is possible that workshops probably busy too with the carving of portraits of private people, played a much more significant role in developing new portrait types due to their competition with each other. Some portrait types represent a clear break with an earlier

type whereas others manifest just slight and seemingly unnecessary adjustments of a lock of hair – why would a supposed ‘Hofwerkstatt’ or ‘Hofkünstler’ confuse the viewer? However, seen in the framework of workshops competing for both the emperor’s recognition and a place in the market it may make sense.¹⁷⁶

While the interpretation of the so-called Prima Porta type of Augustus, conceived to be so radically different from the portraits of Julius Caesar and any other Republican leader has reached a ‘near-consensus’ and need not concern us here, we can only speculate about how and why it became so successful.¹⁷⁷ The so-called Actium type has been identified on coins of Octavian as early as 40 B.C. and is therefore almost certainly earlier than the Prima Porta type. It is believed to be Octavian’s earliest official type to be conceived for replication. It was far less successful than the Prima Porta type, in terms of the number of surviving copies and their geographical distribution. Octavian had assumed the title of *Divi Filius* and emphasised his putative divine ancestry but it was not to the portraits of Caesar that he turned when his public image was being first formulated. The so-called Actium type drew on the Hellenistic style portraits of his divine father’s biggest rival, Pompey. Even though Octavian was closely associated with Pompey in a number of issues the choice of a visual resemblance to Pompey and other so-called marshall’s portraits does not seem obvious. But these portraits facilitated several elements that became crucial for the centrally defined imperial portrait. Portraits of Pompey (and Marc Antony and Caesar) had been commissioned, produced and distributed in large numbers in Italic municipia, and a few important provincial cities during the 40’s B.C. (discussed above p. 23) and were already known to be comprehensible to a Roman/Italic audience. In addition, by drawing on the Republican/Hellenistic past in his first portrait type Octavian blurred the transition into monarchical rulership. At the same time, Octavian’s portrait also had to signal a break with earlier traditions. Eternal youth (he was only 23 years old in 40 B.C.) must have been a key feature in the definition of his public image right from the beginning of his career. Youth could not possibly be combined with Republican ‘veristic’ portraiture and Caesar’s bald head and bony face, but was much more suited to the late Republican Hellenistic style in the so-called marshall’s portraits. There were therefore a number of basic traits of the Actium portrait type that had been successfully employed before. In the long term it was excessively traditional and too closely associated with a retrospective Republican/Hellenistic past to represent the new ideals of the first princeps. Finally, this was a period of experimentation which would eventually result in the design of the Prima Porta type sometime between 27 and 25 B.C. It was to become the most successful Roman imperial portrait type

in terms of the number of surviving copies, their wide geographical and chronological distribution, and the impact it would have on the styling of later imperial portraits. But there were two more portrait types of Octavian/Augustus which did not attain anything like the success of either the Prima Porta or the Actium type, as well as a third type, the date of which is unsettled. The former two types are only known in two and three copies respectively, the so-called Typus Spoleto-Béziers and the so-called Typus Lucus Feroniae. The find context of a copy of both types with other imperial portraits, as well as their close typological relationship with the Actium type makes their identification as representations of Augustus likely. Dietrich Boschung suggests that they should be dated very early, perhaps between 44–40 B.C., i.e. before the Actium type. The small number of surviving copies of both these types (although it only represents a fraction of what was actually produced) suggests that for some reason they were not considered successful. They were therefore not widely disseminated, most probably because the design of the Actium type and/or the workshop that designed it, was found to do the job better. In this period of experimentation for formulating the appropriate design it is possible that the sculptural workshops in Rome which had generation-long experience in developing the portrait styles of the Roman aristocracy, entered in a competitive relationship for finding the aesthetically and ideologically most attractive and the most technically suitable model for representing and replicating the emperor. The Actium type represents neither a stylistic nor a typological redirection, but rather a correction of its two less successful predecessors, suggesting that competition and practical aspects rather than ideology were behind the choice of the Actium type, as opposed to the two ‘small’ types. Boschung has argued for a new date of the so-called Forbes type, placing it chronologically between the Actium and the Prima Porta types as it represents an early experimenting stage of the latter. Copies of the Forbes type, survive in much smaller numbers than those of the Prima Porta type, and it is logical to assume that it was forced out by the success of the newly conceived Prima Porta type.

If we accept that historical events may have inspired the creation of some imperial prototypes, such as for example the (unexpected) accession to the throne – but cannot account for the majority of imperial portrait types – the idea that competing workshops are responsible for the creation of prototypes becomes a possibility.¹⁷⁸ Only workshop competition can account for the fact that some new portrait types involve a complete restyling of the emperor’s image, while others only a small adjustment or correction of a lock. When it comes to selecting and disseminating a new type, several different scenarios, all involving some kind of central governmental approval, can be envisaged. This is why

some emperors were represented in up to seven different types while others basically in just one. The model of workshop competition provides a flexible system where ideological concerns in the styling of the portrait type, its interaction with portraits of private citizens, its ideological and technical successes, demands for renewal, and marketing mechanisms, all influenced the concept of imperial prototypes. This model does not change the fact that the basic ideological content of the emperor's image was of high concern at the court.

Market, replication and dissemination

A tombstone found near Clusium which has hitherto received little attention forms the point of departure for the following remarks on the replication and dissemination of imperial portraits (fig. 329 and plate 38c).¹⁷⁹

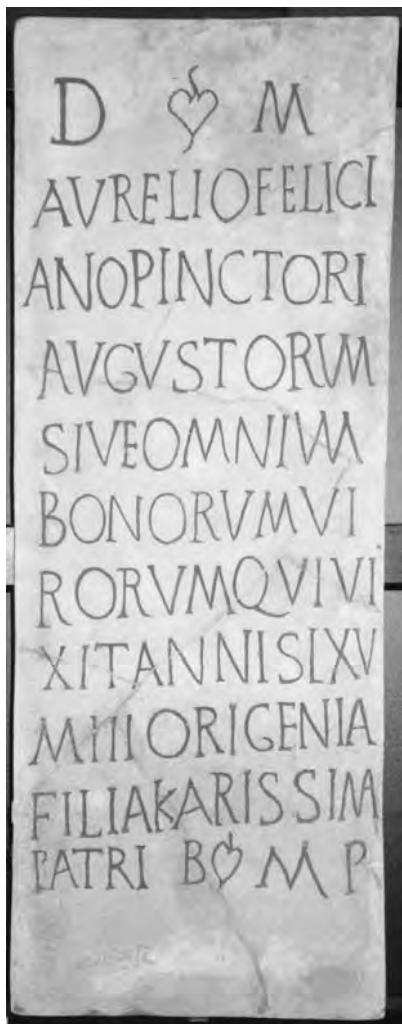
The name of the person commemorated, Aurelius Felicianus, suggests that the tombstone dates to the second century A.D. This is one of the very few written sources referring to the production of imperial images from the Early throughout the Middle Empire. Although the inscription does not specifically mention that Aurelius Felicianus is a portraitist, the composition of the text certainly suggests so.¹⁸⁰ The inscription therefore does not just imply that Aurelius Felicianus was proud of having painted both portraits of emperors and members of the upper class. It also informs us that in provincial cities the same workshop produced images of emperors and of private people, at least when the images were painted. Aurelius Felicianus' tombstone therefore indicates that in smaller towns, such as that of the municipium of Clusium, commissions of imperial portraits went to local workshops. The tombstone of course does not tell anything about what Felicianus used as model for portraits of emperors, how he came in possession of such a model and how and from whom he undertook commissions. But keeping Aurelius Felicianus' work in mind, we now turn to the portrait medium of the emperor that has survived in large quantities: marble portraits.

The last decade has seen a number of important studies concerned with redefining Roman copying. A key argument has been that the so-called Roman ideal statuary is better understood as emulation rather than copying of Greek originals, and that the Romans had little interest in exact copying. The replication of imperial portrait types, however, presents a different set of problems.¹⁸¹ Firstly, there was no original, famous portrait statue or bust to which individual copies related, as far as we know. The prototype of an imperial portrait type was not a unique work of art by a super artist but was designed to be copied as easily and exactly as possible, as I have argued above. Behind the replication of the

imperial portrait was the concern that the more precisely the portrait was copied the easier the identification of the patron would be, and consequently the greater the impact of his portrait. Michael Pfanner has suggested that if each municipium and provincial town across the Empire erected a certain number of portraits of the emperor, depending on the size and status of the city, there would have been between 25–50,000 portraits of Augustus mostly produced during his lifetime.¹⁸² Even though these figures may be highly exaggerated, the ca. 200 sculpted portraits of Augustus that have survived comprise only a small fraction of those that were originally commissioned, sculpted, and erected. From surviving imperial statue bases it is clear that statues of Roman emperors from the Early Empire until Late Antiquity were almost always set up by the

Fig. 329

Tombstone for Aurelius Felicianus. Height: 0.7m;
Width: 0.29m. Plaster cast in Museo della Civiltà Romana, E.U.R.



D M
 Aurelio Felici
 ano pinctori
 augustorum
 sive omnium
 bonorum vi
 rorum qui vi
 xit annis LXV
 m III origenia
 filia karissima
 patri B MP

To the Di Manes. For Aurelius Felicianus,
 painter of emperors as well as of all men
 of good repute, who lived for 65 years and
 3 months. Origenia, his most beloved
 daughter, erected (this monument) to her
 well-deserving father.

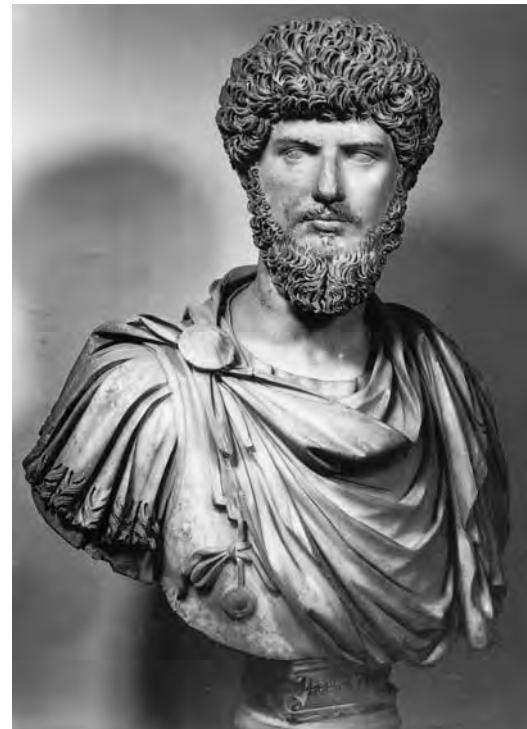
local authorities, office holders or local patrons. They were therefore *sine dubio* set up on local initiative without any directions from the central administration in Rome. Even in the cases where we know from inscriptions that the emperor was asked permission for the setting up of his statue, this should be seen in the context of politics and flattery.¹⁸³ Envoys bringing greetings and asking for permission and approval were part of the political dialogue between Rome and the emperor, and provincial cities. Asking the emperor's permission for erecting his statue of course ensured that he was aware of the generous dedication, but his approval was probably much more relevant to the dedicators and their local identity than to the imperial administration.¹⁸⁴ In any case, such examples represent the exception, and a centrally granted permission was not necessary as the vast number of statues set up and approved by local authoritatives demonstrate. It is therefore most probable that it was left up to the local communities to commission their imperial portraits.

Most imperial portraits from the East are ascribed to eastern workshops.¹⁸⁵ The frequently quoted passage in Arrian in which he encourages Hadrian to send a new portrait to Trapezus on the Black Sea because the existing portrait does not do the emperor justice, shows that there were exceptions and that cases were treated individually.¹⁸⁶ Just under 2/3 of the surviving portraits of Augustus which have a known provenance and more than 2/3 of the surviving portraits of Hadrian derive from the western part of the Empire.¹⁸⁷ A limited number of portraits found in the western provinces have been assigned to Italian workshops,¹⁸⁸ but the vast majority of imperial portraits found in the western part of the Empire were produced in regional or local workshops, it seems. Even though such distinctions between locally produced portraits and metropolitan Roman/Italian ones can be problematic,¹⁸⁹ it is likely that a certain number of the imperial portraits discovered in different parts of the western part of the Empire including parts of North Africa, were imports and made in Italian or in metropolitan Roman workshops. The workshops in Rome therefore not only designed the portrait types but also supplied a part of the western market with copies. News and edicts travelled quickly within the Empire.¹⁹⁰ Depending on the time of year and how closely the city was linked to the supply system of the capital, light-weight, small-scale portrait models for local workshop replication and even the ready-made marble or bronze portraits of the emperor, could easily reach the centres, with an average delay of one to three months.¹⁹¹ Pfanner has suggested that in order to produce the number of ready-made portraits (of Augustus) needed for this market there were workshops in Rome that specialized in producing emperor portraits.¹⁹² Can we identify these metropolitan Roman workshops among the surviving copies, based on provenance, typological relation

to the prototype, style and technique? Neither Pfanner nor Boschung is concerned with identifying individual workshops, but instead they are interested in typology and approximation of each individual copy to the prototype.¹⁹³ Surprisingly few copies of the main portrait types of Augustus are completely accurate and variations and adjustments dominate.¹⁹⁴ While such variation may partly be due to the ancient copying process convincingly described by Pfanner, it strongly suggests that a number or even many different workshops were involved in the copying.¹⁹⁵

Attempts to identifying workshops have been made by Evers and Soeching, for the portraits of Hadrian and Septimius Severus, respectively.¹⁹⁶ Evers identifies five and Soeching four imperial workshops among which they distribute the non-locally produced portraits, which comprise the vast majority of those that have survived.¹⁹⁷ But the results of these studies are not entirely convincing. Firstly, the attributions to individual workshops seem to depart from the assumption that such specialised workshops were necessary and existed.¹⁹⁸ Secondly, identifying workshops on the criteria of technique, quality and style is highly problematic, as I have suggested above, because an individual workshop may supply a variety of styles and qualities. Thirdly, as we do not know anything about the organization of workshops, it is possible that a single sculptor worked for different workshops and that there was a common 'gusto' which was more important than the signature style of a particular workshop.

The discovery of 13 portraits of Lucius Verus and his co-regent Marcus Aurelius at Acquatraversa outside Rome – a site which seems to be identical with the villa mentioned in *SHA*, Lucius Verus VIII-IX as having been constructed by Lucius Verus after his return from Syria in 166 – offers a unique opportunity for workshop studies. The villa may have remained in use throughout the reign of Marcus Aurelius but probably not longer since no portraits of Commodus or indeed any later portraits have been recovered. This suggests a likely date for the production of the portraits between A.D. 166 and 180.¹⁹⁹ The villa was literally filled with portraits of the two emperors. According to the admittedly scarce and ambiguous documentation of the discoveries (which began as early as the 15th century), it can be deduced that 16 imperial portraits were recovered at the site. These include a portrait statue of Plotina, a portrait bust of Faustina Minor, a head and three busts of Marcus Aurelius and a head and six busts of Lucius Verus. A further three portrait supposedly recovered at the site also seem to have represented Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius.²⁰⁰ The details about the original setting of the portraits in the villa – whether they were displayed scattered around the villa or in a gallery – remain unknown.²⁰¹ Of the 16 portraits discovered, nine have been identified in European collections mainly in the Louvre,



where the portraits arrived via the Borghese collection in the early 19th century. The nine identifiable portraits include five of Lucius Verus, three of Marcus Aurelius and one of Faustina Minor. Furthermore, all the portraits of Lucius Verus copy the same prototype, the (wrongly named) Typus 'Samtherrschaft' which was in use at least from A.D. 160.²⁰² They are therefore easy to compare for style, quality and technique.²⁰³ Most of the portraits are in excellent condition and well preserved with their busts. Of the eight identifiable emperor portraits six are preserved with cuirass and *paludamentum* busts, whereas it cannot be determined for the remaining two (colossal) portraits, one of Lucius Verus and one of Marcus Aurelius, whether they belonged to busts or statues. Except for the two colossal heads, which were obviously part of a common display because of their scale and style, the rest of the portraits are life-size or slightly over (figs. 330–331). Two busts of Lucius Verus in the Louvre MA 1101 and MA 1131 are of particularly high quality with drilled hair also on the back. The plasticity of the hair over the forehead and details such as the two small flame-like locks which are attached to the rim of the left ear, are features that can be observed in both of the heads, which follow the prototype into minute detail. Also the bust size and draping is almost identical – one minor difference is that on bust 1101 a rosette

Fig. 330
Bust of Lucius Verus
found at Acquatraversa.
Marble. Height: 0.78 m.
Paris, Louvre.

Fig. 331
Bust of Lucius Verus
found at Acquatraversa.
Marble. Height: 0.83 m.
Paris, Louvre.



Fig. 332
Bust of Marcus Aurelius
found at Acquatraversa.
Marble. Height: 0.82 m.

Paris, Louvre.

Fig. 333
Bust of Lucius Verus
found at Acquatraversa.
Marble. Height: 0.78 m.

Paris, Louvre.

is suspended in the bow on the pancer whereas bust 1131 has a shield. The Marcus Aurelius bust MA 1159 is very similar in its exquisite quality with drilled details also on the back of the head, and in the rendering, size and draping of the bust (fig. 332). These three busts may therefore with some probability be attributed to the same workshop, if not the same hand. However, the rest of the portraits are not easily associated with that workshop. The bust of Lucius Verus MA 1094 is very similar to MA 1101 and 1131 in the general composition and number of details and it copies the same bust type (fig. 333). It is not as detailed in the hairstyle, which is only indicated by carving and not by drilling at the back, and the drapery is more vividly but less carefully carved. The bust of Marcus Aurelius MA 1166 has a smaller breast piece and details in hairstyle are concentrated at the front (fig. 334). The bust of Lucius Verus in the Torlonia collection is likewise of a smaller type. It may have been made as a pair with a bust of Faustina Minor also found at the villa.²⁰⁴ Even in the context of an imperial property furnished within the limited period of fifteen years, it is most likely that a number of different workshops are represented. The portraits may be imperial commissions from different workshops, for display in ancestral galleries around the villa to underscore the omni-presence of the emperors, or



Fig. 334
Bust of Marcus Aurelius
found at Acquatraversa.
Marble. Height: 0.86 m.
Paris, Louvre.

they may have been commissioned by the emperors as gifts to important individuals visiting the villa and kept in a depot. They may also have been commissioned by different private individuals, presented as gifts to the emperors and displayed together in a large hall or scattered around the villa. There are a number of possibilities.

Taking all the archaeological evidence into account it seems most likely that a vast number of workshops were engaged in Rome as well as in the provinces in carving imperial portraits. These workshops worked for both private clients and on imperial commissions, carving portraits of emperors and private people for display in all sorts of contexts. With 35 busts and only 15 preserved statues of Hadrian, and 24 busts and only three (or four) preserved statues of Septimius Severus, the private market or at least commissions for contexts in which more intimate displays were appropriate seem to have been dominant.²⁰⁵ This workshop structure accounts for the success of the period face and for the interaction in portraiture between the imperial family and private individuals.

The emperor en route

Regional centres and strategically important provincial towns occasionally received imperial visits.²⁰⁶ A city's expectations from an imperial visit were high in terms of the political and economic benefits to be granted. The visit was also of symbolic values in that it would add to the status of the city, important in intercity rivalry.²⁰⁷ Also, local aristocrats had the opportunity of vying for the emperor's attention in demonstrating their loyalty and generosity.²⁰⁸ On these occasions, the emperor would find the city adorned with garlands, flowers, and banners. The spectators held laurel twigs and torches symbolizing the brilliance of the event and there were acclamations, speeches, musical performances, spectacles and sacrifices to celebrate the emperor's well-being.²⁰⁹ Most provincial towns, however, never received an imperial visit but instead monuments, festivals and ceremonies focused the people's attention on the emperor and made him seem present. The imperial cult with its regular offerings, hymns and speeches addressed to the emperor and the parading of his image through town, bound the emperor to the local context. Some major centers erected arches, altars and temples furnished with reliefs that illustrated specific or commonplace imperial interests or histories or placed the emperor in the context of local history or myths.²¹⁰ Portrait statues of the emperor in marble or bronze on inscribed bases were a feature of any provincial town of a certain size (minor towns had painted images²¹¹) – they made the emperor part of city life. His statues stood in *fora*, squares and streets, in law courts, theatres, baths, sanctuaries and other busy public spaces. They replaced the emperor in person to such an extent that one might take refuge at them.²¹² At law suits and other public affairs the imperial image validated the actions that took place. It might also identify a building, for example a granary, as imperial property.²¹³

The colony and commercial center Ostia had an urban Italian elite as well as foreign merchants and a large number of middle class persons (mainly freedmen) who were organized in powerful professional and cultic corporations. Here emperor worship and imperial images were abundantly represented throughout the city.²¹⁴ The surviving imperial statue bases and portraits allow some insight into the staging of the emperor in this civic context.²¹⁵ Although the original find spot of most of the imperial statue bases are unknown, the inscriptions inform us about whether the portraits were erected by a public institution or on private initiative and therefore whether they were displayed in a public or corporate space. Four emperor statue bases were set up by public institutions, two by a military unit (the cohortes vigilum), six by private people (one of these is according to *Decreto Decurionum*, two on behalf of

a *collegium*); ten were set up by *collegia*, while the remaining bases have no dedicator at all or the information identifying the dedicator has been lost. These figures show that corporate organizations were extraordinary heavily involved in making the emperor a feature of life in Ostia.²¹⁶ This is also confirmed by find spots of both statue bases and sculpted portraits in dwellings of corporate organizations. The most prominent public places of the forum and its adjacent temples and basilica were furnished with colossal images of the imperial family and were dedicated to the imperial cult.²¹⁷ Likewise, the theatre, the old and traditional sanctuaries and public baths were also furnished with publicly dedicated imperial images.²¹⁸ However, the wide diffusion of the imperial image and the imperial cult in the city was concentrated in the hands of corporate organizations. There is evidence for emperor portraits having been set up in the so-called Scuola di Traiano which was probably the seat of the *collegium of fabri navales* (shipbuilders),²¹⁹ in the so-called basilica, now identified as the seat of the corporation of *lenuncularii* (ferrie men),²²⁰ in the seat of *collegium fabrum tignariorum* (corporation of wood-workers),²²¹ as well as in their small sanctuary probably dedicated to the imperial cult.²²² In their *schola*, located behind the temple of Magna Mater, the *collegium of connofori* and *dendrofori* set up silver statuettes or silver busts of Antonine emperors,²²³ and members of the *traiectus rusticelli* erected images of emperors in the format of silver *clipeatae* which were carried by bronze atlante figures.²²⁴ A number of imperial statue bases dedicated by the *cohortes vigilum* (the fire fighters) have been found in the so-called Caserma dei Vigili, the seat of the fire fighters in Ostia. Some of the statue bases were placed on a podium in a small *sacellum* which has a black and white mosaic floor depicting the sacrifice of a bull (to an emperor) (fig. 335). The statues in the *sacellum* were obviously cult statues.²²⁵ Not surprisingly, the imperial portraits discovered at Ostia generally display styles identical to portraits found in Rome. However, find spots and not least, evidence concerning dedicatory practices, reveal that the distribution of emperor portraits and of emperor worship in Ostia was in the hands of exceptionally powerful corporate organizations which dominated civic life and the relationship between city and emperor from the Early Empire into the late third century A.D.

We know only very little about how the emperor was perceived by the locals over whom he ruled. The *Sibylline Oracles*, a compilation of Greek prophetic texts which circulated in the third century A.D., discuss Roman rulers, and interpret central Roman ideology and history. The emperor is primarily perceived as a figure who kills barbarians, and as a tax collector; the advantage of Roman law and order had its price.²²⁶ However, just as in Ostia, many other provincial cities were strongly

Fig. 335
Sacellum with podium
 with statue bases for
 Antoninus Pius, Lucius
 Verus, Septimius Severus
 and Marcus Aurelius
 (two) in Caserma dei
 Vigili in Ostia.



concerned with assimilating the emperor into local history. Emperors were given local relevance in local coinage and inscriptions, and by assimilation to local deities, as we saw above. The portrait images themselves sometimes in style and effect reveal such local relevance. In Cyrene, for example, some imperial portraits which were made in local workshops were executed in accordance with metropolitan Roman styles, more or less successfully. Care was taken to follow the prototypes, and Antonine emperors are generally represented with very plastic and curly hair following metropolitan Roman practices but the drill is used awkwardly and reluctantly (see fig. 168). Other imperial portraits in Cyrene likewise made in a local workshop, were given specific local relevance in the physiognomy and through the lack of interest in replicating typological details of the hair.²²⁷ And a portrait of Hadrian, likewise from a local workshop in Cyrene, represents an example of how local styles, bound up in the Classical Greek sculptural tradition for representing gods and heroes, were deployed to depict and stage the emperor among Greek heroes of the past.²²⁸ With its generic 'Classical' expression the portrait would probably not have been identified as an imperial image without the typical imperial headgear (fig. 336).

The styles and effects of the imperial portrait varied from centre to periphery, from one province to another, from regional workshops to local ones. Chronological scenarios changed too. During the Early Empire the imperial portrait was most strongly represented in the West but from the Severan period onward when defending the Empire became a more and more significant issue in imperial policy, this was reflected in

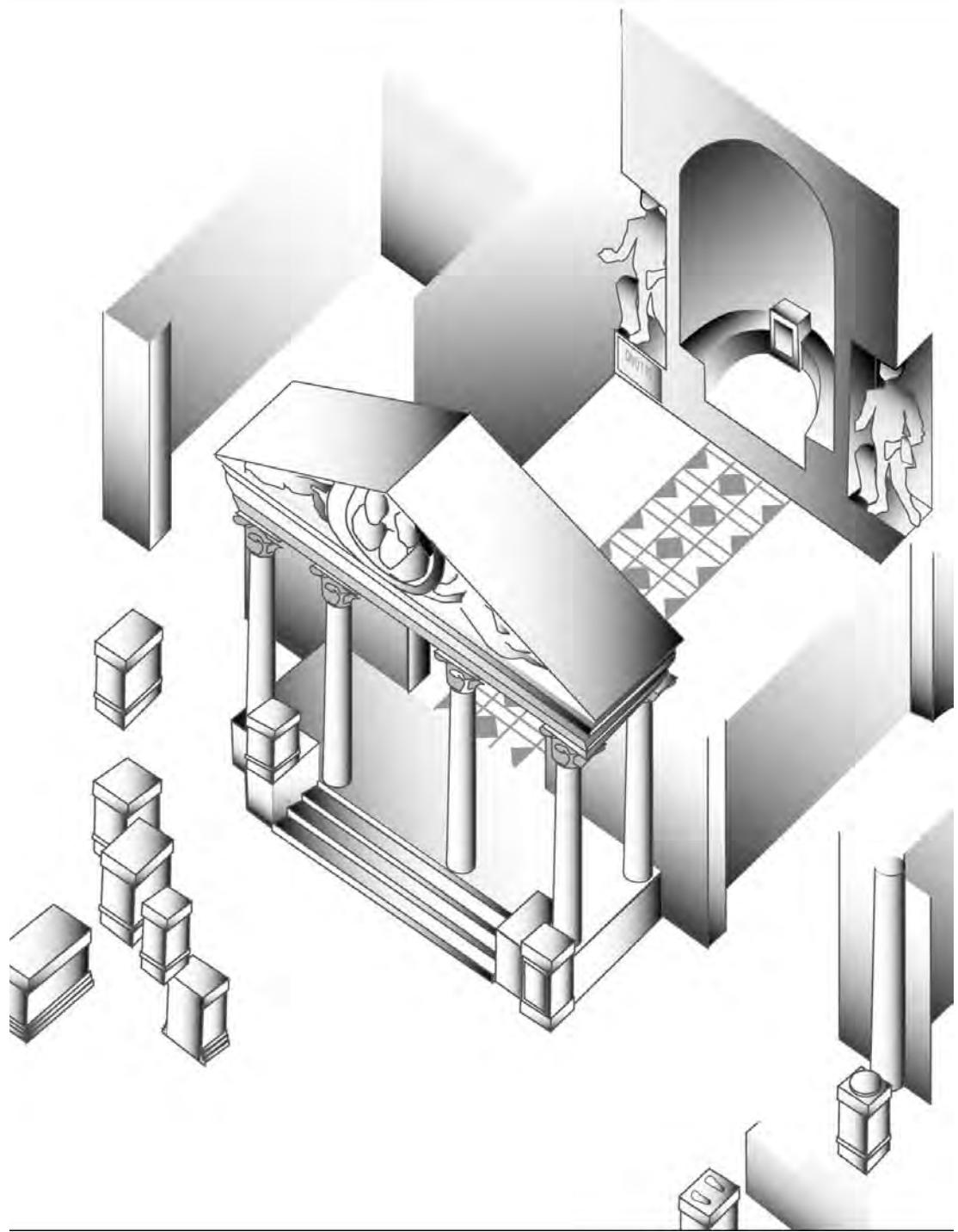


Fig. 336
Generic Classical Greek style portrait of Hadrian found in Cyrene by temple B. Marble. Height of head: 0.3m. Cyrene Museum.

an increasing imperial representation in the border areas.²²⁹ Emperors could favour their home towns or whole provinces, which resulted in massive imperial representation, but the inscriptional evidence as well as the styles of the portraits themselves overwhelmingly suggest that in general the initiative for setting up his statues came from below, from the emperor's subjects.²³⁰ Inscriptions record numerous reasons why a particular statue of the emperor was erected. Generally the setting up of his image was an expression of a dynamic of loyalty that existed between emperor and subjects, and this was a relationship on which the whole Roman system turned.²³¹ Portrait images and their styles personalized imperial rulership and they were the most important way of relating to a ruler who was otherwise remote.



Epilogue





Power, Honour, and Memory

Portraits were no marginal curiosity that appealed only to certain levels of society, but rather, constituted the single most essential artistic medium in the Roman world. For more than four hundred years portraits of emperors or government officials, elite local politicians and benefactors, freedmen and other persons of the lower social classes were present in the visual landscape of the Empire, wherever one looked. Portraits adorned the public spaces, houses and tombs in the cities of the Empire. They represented the most crucial tool of visual communication, helping to describe and to establish relationships: between the emperor and those over whom he ruled, between Rome and the wider Empire, between a city and its citizens, between the social classes, and between the living and the dead. Behind the power and success of the portrait were values and ideals about civility, honour and memory that were communal across the Empire. In its normative format as the publicly displayed honorific statue, the portrait was the most widely disseminated and influential medium of the Roman emperor; it also represented the most desirable honour to which a private citizen could aspire. Imposing to look at and freighted with connotations of power and honour it became an icon amongst the lower social classes, who imitated it in their own self-presentation in tombs and semi-private spaces.

To the emperor the portrait represented the most powerful and most wide-reaching visual medium for promoting his policy. The imperial cult provided a platform for defining the outstanding role and position of the emperor in relationship to those whom he ruled, but this was modeled on the cult of the traditional gods and it inevitably smacked the god-like aspect of the ruler. The invention of the centrally defined, multiple replicated and widely disseminated portrait image of the emperor, which made his personal features well known and recognizable, was far more all-embracing in its implications. It replaced the emperor in person and made him omni-present. It enabled the emperor to appear as

an equal among his fellow citizens (relatively speaking) and portrait images of the empress achieved this even more successfully. Furthermore, and in contrast to this expression of shared values, the portrait could also emphasize the unique position of the imperial ruler. Portrait images replaced the emperor in all-important civilian and military contexts across the Empire. Body modes, attributes and the locations chosen for his images embedded the emperor's persona into a large variety of different contexts. This was vital for establishing and maintaining a relationship with his subjects and more generally for the successful rule of the Empire.

Public honours represented some of the most important communal values to which a Roman citizen could aspire; the attainment of such honours defined his social position and political power within the community. The visibility of the honorific statue, placed on a high base with a laudatory inscribed text, best embodied and perpetuated personal expectations for honour in the public sphere. Portraiture was strongly connected and in many cases synonymous with public honour. And no other medium than the portrait statue could turn an official or benefactor into an ideal citizen forever. Only the city administration could fulfil these personal expectations. We have seen that the situation was so competitive amongst local elite citizens that it was not unusual for an individual to wait until after his death to be awarded this utmost honour. And most citizens never received a publicly awarded statue. The necropoleis from which the majority of the surviving portraits that today adorn museum galleries, probably derive, represented alternative spaces for self-presentation. In their tombs people put their status and wealth on display. Just as importantly, this funerary iconography expressed the personal emotions and sorrow felt by the mourners. Such feelings, and a desire for a sense of continuity, were best articulated by the portrait image of the deceased.

No other artistic medium in the Roman Empire changed as rapidly and as continuously as the Roman portrait. With its period styles and thematic concerns it was constantly being updated. These changes might be minor or represent a total redirection in a given period but they were essential to the meaning of portraiture. One of the main features of the period styles was that they distinguished between an image of a living person and that of a dead ancestor. The constantly changing period styles may have meant that a portrait could look outdated but first and foremost this entailed that its meaning developed and fluctuated as time passed by. Portraits provoked responses. A portrait carried a message, and had both an agenda and a biography. The selection of a portrait style that would express a particular idea or point from a number of typological models, operated in relation to the sitter's ideal civic role and

lifestyle. The portrait was often erected with a specific purpose in mind, or for a specific reason, but it would continue to interact with its audience for generations. At the time of its manufacture it would look fresh, contemporary and present – there was always a choice of styles – and on the day of its inauguration the subject might be personally present or represented by an official. He or she would listen to speeches of praise and to musical performances and would participate in the distribution of food to the audience. But immediately after the ceremony the portrait replaced the subject and expressed in a direct and dignified way the communal ideals that were connected with being an ideal citizen. With time the portrait came to represent the history, the memory and the identity of the city and of the Empire. In the highly competitive Roman society with intense intercity rivalry, famous and generous citizens helped to define a city's identity. Together with statues of gods and of the local personifications which surrounded an honorific statue, the figure portrayed gradually became one of the city's mythical ancestors. A city was proud of its honorific statues because they were an integral element in its identity, shaping its history and sustaining its collective memory.

The reconstruction of the socio-historical context of Roman portrait images rests on a much better foundation when the corpus of inscriptions that accompanied these portraits is taken into account but the exact locations in which these portraits were erected is still difficult to assess. Case studies of the so-called Fundilia room at Nemi, at the sanctuary of *Augustales* at Misenum and on statuary programmes by the city gate at Perge – as well as evidence from public buildings and houses and villas across the Empire – have shown that context was variable and subject to change. In fact, outside the funerary setting it is rare that a portrait image is preserved in the context for which it was originally made. Those few that remained *in situ* in the public spaces throughout the history of a city were no doubt of great importance for the communal identity and memory of the city. Portraits were continuously being removed from their original location, reused in part or as a whole or moved to a new context and given new meanings and decorative emphases. While this might feel frustrating to the modern scholar it should not be a cause of despair. It demonstrates the protean power of honorific statues and portrait images – even generations after they were first erected.



Appendix



Addendum: Statuary Formats and Statuary Habits in Literary Sources: the Inscription Honouring Lucius Volusius Saturninus



The terms employed in the literary and epigraphic sources to describe honorific statues and portraits have been discussed above. Ancient texts and inscriptions may also sometimes refer to the particular habit of a statue. The only specific habit mentioned for women is when in the *stola*, *stolata*, but for men there is more variation.¹ A statue of a man may depict him either standing or on horseback (*statua pedestris* and *statua equestris*). He may wear the *toga* or cuirass (*statua togata* or *statua armata*, *statua loricata*, *statua habitu militari*). An extraordinarily rich source of information about statues of men is an inscription honouring Lucius Volusius Saturninus from A.D. 56. The inscription, which is cut on a thin marble slab 69.5×215cm, was found at the large residential villa of the Volusii Saturnini family at Lucus Feroniae, about 20 km north of Rome. It records the exceptional honours which the Roman Senate, on the request of Nero, voted for Lucius Saturninus Volusius in A.D. 56.² These include a public funeral and nine honorific statues which were to be set up at different prominent and unusual locations in Rome. The slab, which apparently copies an inscription set up in Rome word for word, was found in a room behind a columned portico surrounding a large peristyle courtyard (see Fig. 63). The room has been interpreted as a *lararium*, an identification which is obviously based on the posthumous statues recorded in the inscription as well as the fact that an altar was also found in the room, all of which are appropriate for a domestic shrine. The small room, 5×6.5 m, and open on the side facing the portico, has a mosaic floor. Finds include the altar just mentioned, a marble bench and two inscriptions including the one recording the honorific statues of Saturninus in Rome. Four life-size Iulio-Claudian portraits, two male and two female, a slightly over life-size portrait of a veiled woman of the Trajanic period and the torsos of what are probably a Iulio-Claudian hip-mantle statue and a draped female statue, were all found in the portico, “pressi dal larario”.³ The room has a platform, 0.88 m high and 0.86 m deep, in the northwest corner. The west section of the platform, however, is deeper,

measuring 1.14m. The inscribed slab in question covered the front of the north section while the short end of the north section bore another inscription honouring Lucius' grandson, Quintus Volusius Saturninus, consul in A.D. 56.⁴ If the room is correctly interpreted as a *lararium* also Quintus, who died in A.D. 92, must already have passed away when his inscription was set up.⁵ As both inscriptions were set up at the same time, according to the excavators, they cannot have been set up before A.D. 92. The inscription honouring Lucius Volusius Saturninus raises a number of questions: 1. What is the context and purpose of this inscription in the family's villa at Lucius Feroniae? 2. Why was it set up at least 36 years after these honours were voted in Rome? 3. What was the purpose of the platform, which could obviously not have carried all nine statues referred to in the inscription? The first two questions may be answered in the light of the development of the sculptural programmes in Rome discussed above. Evidence suggests that the public spaces in Rome came to be reserved for the representation of the imperial family and statues of private citizens even those of important politicians were displayed in their private residences. It is therefore possible that the inscription or more probably a copy of it was placed in the villa because the original inscription (and statues?) had already been removed from their location in Rome. However, the inscription may also simply be a copy of the one in Rome, of which the family was obviously very proud and which they wanted to have in their estate. Whether the two male portraits found "pressi dal larario" belonged to statuary types mentioned in the inscription remains uncertain. It is unknown whether the statues mentioned in the inscription, or copies of them, were ever kept in the villa, but if they were they must have been distributed throughout the villa as there was obviously not room for all of them in the *lararium*. It is also unclear whether the platform in the *lararium* originally bore any of the portrait statues or heads found in the portico "pressi dal larario".⁶ However, the fragment of an inscription recently 'discovered' in the Lapidario Forense in Rome, may derive from the base of one of the three statues set up on Forum Romanum according to the inscription.⁷

The different habits of Saturninus' statues

The nine honorific statues to be set up on some of Rome's prominent locations in honour of Saturninus, were in five different habits in bronze and marble:

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 3 triumphal statues: | 1 in bronze in Augustus' forum
2 in marble in the templum novum ⁸ of the deified Augustus (between the Palatine and the Capitol) |
|----------------------|--|

- 3 consular statues: 1 in the temple of the deified Caesar (in the Forum Romanum)
 1 on the Palatine *intra triplum*⁹
 1 in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine

- 1 augural statue: in the regia (in the Forum Romanm)

- 1 seated on sella curulis: in the Porticus Lentulorum
 by the theatre of Pompey¹⁰

- 1 equestrian: near the rostra (in the Forum Romanum)

[L. Volusio L. f. Q. n. Sa]turnino cos.,/
 [augur, sodalis Augustal]is, sodalis Titi, proc[os. Asiae]/
 [legatus divi Aug., item Ti. Caesa]ris Aug. pro praetore in [Dalmatia,]/
 [triumphalibus ornamentis pra]efectus urbis fuit. [In ipsa praefectura]/
 [obii]t nonagesimum et tertium annum agens, dec[revit senatus]/
 [auctore Nerone Claudio Aug. German]ico funere publico [eum efferendum,]/
 [item vadimoniis exsequi]arum [ei]us causa dilates item statuas ei/
 [ponend]as tr[ium]fales in foro Augusti aeneam, in templo novo div[i Au]gussti
 (sic!)/
 [m]armoreas [du]as, consulares unam in templo divi Iuli, alteram [i]n/
 [P]alatio intra triplum, tertiam in aria Apolinis (sic!) in conspectum (sic!) curiae,
 auguralem in regia, equestrem proxime rostra, sella curuli residentem at (sic!)/
 theatrum Pompeianum in porticu Lentulorum.

To L. Volusius Saturninus, son of Lucius, grandson of Quintus, consul. He was augur, member of the sodales Augustales and the sodales Titii, proconsul of Asia, legatus propraetore in Dalmatia of the deified Augustus and likewise of Tiberius Caesar, prefect of the city with triumphal decorations. He died in this very prefecture while in his 93rd year. On the motion of Nero Claudius Augustus Germanicus the Senate decreed that he should be brought forth for burial with a public funeral accompanied by a vacation for the courts, and likewise that statues should be erected in his honour: triumphal ones: one in bronze in the forum of Augustus and two in marble in the new temple of Divus Augustus; consular ones: one in the temple of Divus Iulius, another on the Palatine within the triplum, a third in the precinct of Apollo within sight of the curia; an augural one in the regia; an equestrian one near the rostra; one seated on the magistrate's chair by the theatre of Pompey in the Porticus of the Lentuli.

The *Statua triumphalis* is also known from literary sources¹¹ but apparently the term does not designate a specific ancient statuary type. To retain the memory of a triumph, the honorand could either be awarded a pedestrian statue in triumphal costume, an equestrian statue, or a statue in the two-wheeled triumphal chart, *currus triumphalis*, pulled by a *quadriga*. In the case of Saturninus his triumphal statues probably showed him standing in triumphal costume because both the equestrian statue and

the *quadriga* would simply have taken up too much space in the temple of Divus Augustus in which two of them were to be placed. The inscription does not tell us whether these two marble statues were identical. According to literary sources and representations of the emperor in triumph on historical reliefs and coins, the triumphal costume consisted of a *tunica palmata* over which was worn the *toga picta*. Both garments were purple and embroidered in gold, the tunica with palm branches and the toga with stars. The triumphant emperor also wore the *corona triumphalis* of laurel leaves around his head and a slave held a golden crown studded with precious stones over him.¹² In his left hand he held a laurel branch and in his right an ivory sceptre crowned by an eagle. Furthermore he wore a bulla of gold and a finger ring of bronze. With attributes and colouring now lost the statue would look like any toga statue and there is therefore no way of identifying the *statua triumphalis* amid the surviving statuary.

Before the principate the *statua triumphalis* was awarded along with a proper triumph to a military victor by the Roman Senate. After the monarchical position of the princeps was established, full triumphs were no longer bestowed on private citizens. When a victory had been won by a private citizen he was instead awarded an *ornamenta triumphalia*, a substitute for the triumph. To the award of *ornamenta triumphalia* was connected the setting up of a triumphal statue of the honorand.¹³ Eventually, the *statua triumphalis* lost its original meaning and could be awarded to a person who deserved extraordinary honours for other reasons. Indeed, there is no evidence that Saturninus had earned any military distinctions.¹⁴

Statua consularis is a statuary type otherwise unknown in the sources. It probably referred to Saturninus' role as civic magistrate and showed him standing in the traditional senatorial costume in toga with wide purple border, *toga praetexta* and with the wide purple stripe, *clavus latus* on the tunica as well as *calcei patricii*, the senatorial boots.¹⁵ There would probably not have been any reference to the twelve lictors by which the consul had the right to be accompanied during his election period from 19 B.C. onward, when Augustus was permanently awarded the use of *fasces*; this privilege was reserved for the emperor in the West. In a tomb context, however, fasces, which could be used by municipal and senatorial officials, were common.¹⁶ It is also unlikely that there was any reference to Saturninus' right to the *sella curulis*, the most significant attribute of the consul magistrate because Saturninus was also awarded a statue showing him *statua sella curuli residens*, as the inscription informs us.¹⁷ In the *statua consularis* he may have worn a golden wreath of laurels with a jewelled medallion in the centre, around the head. He would have held a sceptre

with a small bust of the Genius Senatus in his hand, thus referring to the close bond between the Senate and the consuls.

Statua auguralis is also otherwise unknown in the sources but it was probably a standing figure wearing the *toga praetexta*¹⁸ pulled over the back of the head like a veil, *capite velato*,¹⁹ and holding in one hand the *litus*, a short curved staff of the high priestly collegium of *augures*, one of the *quattuor amplissima collegia*, and in the other hand probably a *phiale*. It was therefore a most appropriate costume in which to be represented in the regia, the traditional seat of the Pontifex Maximus.

Representations of Augustus on a Lares altar in Florence provide us with a visual impression of the statuary type.²⁰

The **Statua equestris** was according to Cicero the highest honour, *maximus honos*, which could be bestowed upon a citizen. The earliest evidence for the equestrian statue being awarded in Rome dates to 338 B.C., when, according to Pliny the Elder, the consuls C. Maenius and L. Furius Camillus were granted a triumph as well as equestrian statues for their military victory. Hereafter it was used regularly to honour military victors. In imperial Rome the equestrian statue and the *quadriga*, both usually over life size, were awarded almost exclusively to the Roman emperor and only very rarely to private citizens as in the case of the equestrian statue of Saturninus. In municipal and provincial towns, however, the equestrian statue was granted regularly to private citizens as a special honour. Equestrian statues were not restricted to any social classes. The honorand might never have won a victory or indeed have had anything to do with the military. Members of the senatorial class, local benefactors and decuriones were awarded equestrian statues usually for display in the forum or (as is known from some eastern provinces) in sanctuaries as a special reward. They were a common feature in public spaces during the Late Republic and Early Empire. Mounted on high bases and sometimes located in the middle of the forum square they represented a significant visual element (see plate 40).²¹ In the small town of Herculaneum, for example, the proconsul M. Nonius Balbus was honoured with at least four equestrian statues set up during the Augustan period. We know that one was in bronze and two were in marble. They were about life size and three of the four equestrian statues were set up in the city's forum.²² The two preserved statues show Balbus on a quietly resting horse. Balbus wears a large mantle over a cylindrical Hellenistic type cuirass and has his right arm raised.

In the East the equestrian statue was rarely awarded. It was reserved primarily for high ranking Roman officials and for the emperor.²³ In the West, however, the size and sheer number of equestrian statues being

awarded in municipal and provincial towns may have caused severe spatial problems in fora and theatres, which became more and more crowded with sculptures. This may be a reason why the equestrian statue was more rarely awarded during the second and third centuries A.D. Because of the considerable monetary outlay required for such a statue, the financing of such honours may also have created difficulties for provincial cities, as the number of honorific statues which the cities had to dedicate continued to rise during the late first and second centuries A.D., as we have already seen. As the number of equestrian statues awarded declined, their iconography also became more standardized retaining two main themes. One theme is dramatic and epitomizes the *virtus* of the rider. He holds a lance with which he may be slaying an enemy lying under his horse which is rearing up. This type of statue is known for example in a bronze statue of Nerva from Misenum which is iconographically close to Hellenistic royal groups.²⁴ The second and most common theme shows the rider, as Balbus, on a horse that is standing still, while the man raises his right arm in a gesture which according to Bergemann, symbolizes activity, "a gesture of address", or "Befehl zum Schweigen" rather than strict *adlocutio*.²⁵ (see fig. 135) The rider may be dressed in a toga or military costume with a short mantle worn over a tunica or cuirass. These two main postures therefore allude to important public roles, both civic or military. When the rider wears a himation, the context of display is the private villa.

Biga and *quadriga*, charts drawn by either two or four horses, are often employed by the Roman emperor to illustrate his military power and superiority. The *biga* was rarely awarded to a private citizen. When it was awarded it was not restricted to members of the highest social order as two examples both in honour of a municipal eques demonstrate.²⁶ The *quadriga*, however, seems to have been reserved for the imperial family.²⁷

Statua sella curuli residens is a statuary type that is otherwise unmentioned in the literary sources but representations of it are well known from both coins and sculpted reliefs. In sculpture in the round only isolated examples are extant however.²⁸ The statue would have shown Saturninus seated on the *sella curulis* dressed in a *toga praetexta*. He would have held a sceptre and would have worn around his head a wreath decorated with a jewelled stone, the insignia of the consul. The *sella curulis* was a wooden folding stool with an ivory veneer. It was without back and armrests but had a decoration on the rail referring to the magisterial office and occasionally to the mythical or real ancestors of the owner of the stool. This ceremonial stool was a very powerful symbol of a magistrate's right to sit in judgment, and the right to possess it was held only by the highest (curulian) magistrates during their period of office in Rome; permanently of

course by the emperor. The stool was used at a number of different official occasions, including when a curulian magistrate attended spectacles in the circus or in the theatre. With few seated statues preserved details of the symbolically potent stool are best examined on the funerary reliefs of high-ranking municipal office-holders. Such men were proud of being allowed to use the stool and therefore had them depicted in their tombs.

Seated statues did not often feature in a public context and only with very specific meaning such as for depicting the curulean magistrate or the emperor in administrative roles or the emperor on his throne in the guise of Jupiter. A series of late 2nd century A.D. black basalt portrait statues from El-Kefar in the province of Arabia (present day Hauran in southern Syria), probably also had very specific meaning (see figs. 98–99). The statues show bearded men with inscribed book scrolls opened on their laps, a posture which associates them with traditional Egyptian statuary. As the men are seated on stools or rather thrones, with ornamentation which recalls the insignia of the Roman curulean magistrate, it is possible that this mode of representation was chosen to express the new role of these office holders.²⁹ In the Greek East the seated portrait statue had its origin in the Hellenistic seated philosopher statue. But during Late Antiquity a seated statue draped in himation was deployed for public honorific statues perhaps honouring local dignitaries.³⁰ In the West the deployment of seated statues seems to be connected with the enthroned statuary types of deities. These featured commonly in representations of the Roman emperor but very rarely in statues of private citizens.



Notes

Introduction

- 1 See for example Giuliani 1986.
- 2 An example of how important inscriptions can be for understanding visual representation is Paul Zanker's analysis of the freedman's tomb reliefs from Rome, Zanker 1975.
- 3 Salskov Roberts 1997, 210–13.
- 4 Gazda & Haeckl 1993, 300 and Fittschen 1999, X note 8.
- 5 Giuliano 1989, 95–98; Gazda & Haeckl 1993.
- 6 Particularly important are the studies by Smith 1998 and 2002.
- 7 Most profoundly by Bazant 1995.
- 8 Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, 187–95; Tanner 2000. The thorough study by Papini from 2004 on early- and mid-Republican portraiture came to my attention too late to be fully integrated above. Papini wisely includes the Etruscan terracotta and stone material and reaches the conclusion that while Ptolemaic influence is evident on the less pretentious urn portraits the portraits which may have functioned in a public context were rooted in the Hellenistic Greek portrait tradition.
- 9 Otto Benndorf was probably the first, see Benndorf 1878. Drerup also basically saw the death mask via a plaster mask as the origin for the Roman portrait, Drerup 1980.
- 10 Polybius 6.53–54 discussed by Flower 1996, 36–38 and *passim*.
- 11 For a survey of traditional art-historical approaches, see Smith 2002a.
- 12 Visconti 1818 and Bernoulli 1882–99.
- 13 Bazant 1995, 76–87. See also Faber 2003, 199–201 on Ludwig Curtius' racist descriptions of Roman portraits.
- 14 Smith 1998, 58 with references.
- 15 So Boschung 1993, 8–10.
- 16 Fittschen 1971.
- 17 *Contra Corbeill* 2004, 161–62.
- 18 See generally Swain 1997, 27ff.
- 19 Lilja 1978, 55–56. See however Leach 1990 for the cases when Pliny does compare the written description to visual portraiture.
- 20 Gleason 1995, 29–27 on Polemo's physiognomy.
- 21 The literature on the writings of the physiognomists is extensive but see above all Gleason 1995. See also Cokayne 2003, 11–13.
- 22 Most recent on the art and literature of the Second Sophistic is the collection of articles in Borg 2004.

Part One: Public Honours and Private Expectations

The so-called Roman Private Portrait

- 1 Also found in that sense in Vitruvius, see Riggsby 1997, 48. For senators without administrative posts as *privati*, see Demant 1996, 25.
- 2 Lahusen 1984, 3 with note 15. For the difficulties posed by the term *privatus*, see also Rees 2001, 156–60.
- 3 Demant 1996, 25.
- 4 A collection has been completed by Erkelenz 2003, 38–51 which incorporates documentation and analysis of dedicatory inscriptions including statue bases and other types of inscribed stones honouring Roman office holders (i.e. mostly governors, *legati*, procurators and military officers in the Roman provinces).
- 5 Zuiderhoeck 2005, with discussion of previous studies on the financial role that benefactors played in Roman society. Zuiderhoeck however suggests that in Asia Minor, the financial contributions which benefactors made towards monumental building programmes may have been overestimated in previous studies.
- 6 Van Bremen 1996, 173–87.
- 7 Hölscher 1998, 706–10.
- 8 Sehlmeyer 1999, 109, 141 and *passim* for the variety of early honorific statues in Rome.
- 9 Sehlmeyer 1999, 48–52.
- 10 For the much debated statue of Cornelia, see Flower 2002, 172–79 and Ruck 2004.
- 11 Sehlmeyer 1999, *passim* and 277 note 26, referring to the ambiguous nature of the evidence and the resulting disagreements between scholars. On Cato's recentment towards statues of Roman women, see Flory 1993, 292.
- 12 Sehlmeyer 1999, 112.
- 13 Degrassi's work on Republican inscriptions confirms this picture. From the West, Degrassi includes no securely dated portrait inscriptions from before the first quarter of the first century B.C. Right until the mid-first century B.C. we know of very few honorands and all those that do exist are of leading politicians such as Sulla, Pompey, Caesar and Octavian. I am grateful to Géza Alföldy for advising me to check the evidence for honorific statues from Rome recorded by Sehlmeyer 1999 against Degrassi 1958. See also now Erkelenz 2003, 315–16 for a chronological summary of the evidence, with 5% of the statues dating to the Republican period in the West.
- 14 Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 157–66 and 170–73, arguing that honorific statues for Roman men were rare during the Republic.
- 15 Croz 2002, 108ff.
- 16 Megow 2005 his types I–IV.
- 17 Parisi Presicce 1997, especially 96–103. I am grateful to Elizabeth Bartman for having drawn my attention to this work.
- 18 See for example Quass 1993, 76ff. I owe this reference to Vincent Gabrielsen. For Romans and Italians in the East in the Republican period, see also Tuchelt 1979.
- 19 For the emergence of the honorific statue in Rome, see Hölscher 1978, 324ff. and Sehlmeyer 1999, 45–109. Crucial for an understanding of the tradition of the honorific statue in Greece and the importance of such statues to Romans in the East is Payne 1984. The evidence for women in the East is documented by van Bremen 1996, 180–90, Kajava 1990 and Eule 2001 (only the Hellenistic period). The thorough and well-documented work by Papini on Republican portraiture, Papini 2004, came to my attention only recently, and I have only had the opportunity to look briefly at it. Papini, who also includes a study of honorific statues of Romans in the East, sees the early honorific statue in Rome in the light of Hellenistic influences.

- 20 Payne 1984, 120–41 and Sehlmeyer 1999, 151.
- 21 Payne 1984, 41–48.
- 22 Kajava 1990, 63–64, and van Bremen 1996, *passim*.
- 23 Payne 1984; Tuchelt 1979; van Bremen 1996; Tanner 2000.
- 24 Evidence amassed by van Bremen, 1996, 180–6.
- 25 See Forbis 1996 and Sehlmeyer 1999, 176.
- 26 Pliny the Elder, *HN* XXXIV, 17 on the spread of the honorific statue to municipal towns.
- 27 Alföldy 1987, 115–17 and *passim*.
- 28 See van Bremen 1996, 180–83.
- 29 Erkelenz 2003, 315 and 321 now qualify as inscriptions of Roman office holders.
- 30 Alföldy 2001.
- 31 Sehlmeyer 1999, 277–79.
- 32 Sehlmeyer 1999.
- 33 Flower 1996, 53–59 with a discussion of all literary evidence.
- 34 Niquet 2000, 77–86.
- 35 So, for example, also Pekáry 1985. See further Alföldy 2001, 13–15.
- 36 Sehlmeyer 1999, 13.
- 37 For the different kinds of statue bases, see in particular Evers 1994, 30–43 and Alföldy 2001, 15 note 22 and 40–41. In Timgad the complete preserved bases are between 1.5 and 1.8m high, see Witschel 1995 note 101.
- 38 It is possible that statue bases may have been made of coloured stones such as porphyry to match the material of the statue which stood on top, but evidence is lacking. There is however evidence that large basins and vases in coloured stones were placed on supports in matching material, see Ambrogi 1995, 180 and 261 and coloured marble slabs veneered a base for a statue of Faustina Maior, see p. 394.
- 39 Şahin 2004, 35 no. 315.
- 40 *CIL* XIV 4254, discussed in Friggeri 2001, 148–50.
- 41 Ruck 2004 on bases for seated statues of women and Bergemann 1990, 119 on bases of equestrian statues.
- 42 Dräger 1994, 59 with pl. 75,1–2. So for example also a series of bases made for under life-size bronze statues of Roman emperors in Ostia, Statione Vigiles, discussed briefly in Fittschen 1999, 109–10 with plate 204.
- 43 Dräger 1994, 59–61.
- 44 Galli 2002, 80.
- 45 See Corbeill 2004, 126–27. The low base is occasionally also used in the West but primarily in representations of a statue in relief. See for example Mausoleum E in the necropolis under the basilica of Saint Peters in Rome, see Mielsch & Hesberg 1995, figs. 180 and 187.
- 46 For the column as statue support, see Jordan-Ruhe 1995.
- 47 For the terminology *fornix* and *arcus*, see de Maria 1988, 55ff. and Roehmer 1907, 14–17. For honorary arches, see also von Hesberg 1992a, 277ff.
- 48 See Sehlmeyer 1999, 168f.
- 49 Greek was also occasionally used. The first known portrait inscription in Greek from Rome dates to 196 B.C. and is found on the base for an equestrian statue set up in the Circus Flaminus honouring T. Quintius Flamininus, see Sehlmeyer 1999, 144.
- 50 In Ephesos, the provincial capital of Asia, only a small percentage of the ca. 5,000 inscriptions found are in Latin, according to Weber, see Weber 1999, 139–46.
- 51 See the evidence collected by Salomies 2001, 155ff. Also Erkelenz 2003, 78–80.
- 52 See in particular Kearsley 2001, *passim* and nos. 111–138 for honorific inscriptions.
- 53 This is often the case with women, see van Bremen 1996, 167.
- 54 Forbis 1996, *passim*.

- 55 Aydin Depot inv. 63, see Inan & Rosenbaum 1966, 175–76 cat. 235 pl. 130. For additional and contradictionary information between body language and inscription in Hellenistic female statuary, see Zanker 1995c, 263f.
- 56 An inscription with belonging bust honouring a certain Orestes from Styberra, for example, mentions the exact year of dedication, see Rüsch 1969, 117. When officials are being honoured reference to their office is only a relative chronological indicator, see Erkelenz 2003, 204–16.
- 57 See for example Forbis 1996 no. 144 mentioning three statues, and no. 481 mentioning two statues, one with the subject on horseback and one where he is on foot.
- 58 Forbis 1996 nos. 481, 296, 216, 185.
- 59 Forbis 1996 nos. 219, 135, 89, 67, 481.
- 60 Forbis 1996 nos. 235 and 318. The base for a *biga* of a certain duovir Plautius Lupus in Leptis Magna also explicitly mentions the format of the *biga*, in Fagan 1999, 270 cat. 117. Further evidence, see Zelazowski 1997.
- 61 Forbis 1996 no. 5, and Scholz 1992, 13–32 on literary sources.
- 62 See Addendum.
- 63 The text of Fabius Hermogenes' statue base in the forum of Ostia was copied on his tomb.
- 64 Borg & Witschel 2001, 103. See also Rouché 1984, 181–99.
- 65 Kearsley 2001, 51–53, no. 73.
- 66 Lahusen & Formiglio 2001, 15 wrongly claims that the material is not mentioned in the inscriptions for the obvious reason that the viewer could see it.
- 67 In Latin the words for portrait images in inscriptions include *simulacrum*, *imago*, *statua* and *volutus*. For the words for image in literary sources, see Clauss 2001, 195–204.
- 68 Generally Eck 1995, 216–17 and *passim*.
- 69 Forbis 1996 no. 296.
- 70 Salomies 2001, 146 with evidence. Of course it cannot be ruled out either that it was the honorand himself that supplied the text. See also Eck 1995.
- 71 Discussed p. 48
- 72 Artists names/signatures are found on the base carrying the statue as well as on the statue itself, see Donderer 2004. Evidence for Roman artists' signatures is collected by Toynbee 1951. A number of artists' names have since appeared and been discussed in depth, see for example Ruck 2004 on the problematic recut base of Cornelia signed by Teisikrates. A number of bases from Aphrodisias bear artists' signatures for example that of Claudia Tatiana signed by Zenas (Smith 1998, 68); the statue of the boxer Piseas signed by Polyneikes (Ratté & Smith 2004, 175) and an over life-size headless pancerstatue (of an emperor?) signed Apollonios Aster, son of Chrysippus (Erim, 1996, 78). The leg-support of a possibly first-century A.D. panzer statue from Gortyn is signed by Athenaios from Paros, (Romeo & Portale 1998, 441 cat. 32 pl. 62, c). Imperial portraits were rarely signed and only with certainty in the eastern part of the Empire. The examples known to me are a Tiberius and Drusus Minor base from Halicarnassus signed by Archidamos (Loewy 1885, 356), a Claudius base from Athens signed by Eubulides of Piraeus (Toynbee 1951, 24), a base for Agrippina Minor from the *metroon* in Olympia is signed by Dionysios from Athens (Hitzl, 1991, 83), a base of Hadrian from Athens signed by Pantuleius (Toynbee 1951, 24). Another base of Hadrian from Athens is signed by Xenophanthus (Toynbee 1951, 24), and a base from the cella of the temple of Apollo in Cyrene set up to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius or the cult statue is signed Zenios Zenionos (see Callot 1999, 100). A relief of Antinous in Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo on loan from the Cariplò Foundation and found at Torre del Padiglione, ca. 50 km. south of Rome near Lanuvium probably in a villa is signed by Antonianos of Aphrodisias (Charles-Gaffiot & Lavagne 1999, 262 cat. 102). From the theatre in Butrint and probably adorning the *scanae frons* come two almost identical cuirassed

statues but only one of them is signed by Sosikles from Athens (Gilkes 2003, 233–35). There are also examples of imperial statues being signed on the leg-support such as the statue of Claudius from the *metron* in Olympia, which bears the signature of the Athenian sculptors Philatenaios and Hegias (Hitz 1991, 83). A number of statue bases for portraits of Romans in the Greek East during the Republican period were signed, see Payne 1984, 32 and 402–4. Two of these (Payne 1984, 402–3 nos. 7 and 14) were signed by both the original sculptor and the restorer.

Busts could also be signed on the bust foot as with the two busts of Theon and Sophilos in the Capitoline Museums, 459 and 579 signed by the Aphrodisian? artist Zenas, see Daltrop 1958, 121. From the forum in Merida a series of six togati were supplied by the workshop of Gaius Aulus but the sculptor is not mentioned, see Ramírez Sádaba 2002, 141–49 nos. 78–83 and p. 321.

73 Tobin 1997, 78.

74 Horster 1998, 43 on the difference in reuse between regions.

75 For the East, see Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer 2002, 203ff. with an inscription honouring Oikumenios in Aphrodisias as example.

76 For developments in the honorific inscriptions, see in particular Smith 1999, 174f., and Borg & Witschel 2001, 103f.

77 Rumscheid 2000, 9–51, especially 38–39. A number of portraits with crowns have been found in the Vedium- and East-baths in Ephesos in the large halls opening out towards the gymnasium and supporting the theory that the crowns were worn by the benefactors of imperial? games, see Auinger 2003.

78 Forbis 1996.

79 Forbis 1996 nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 16, 18, 19, 22, 28, 30, 34, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 77, 81, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 101, 102, 106, 109, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 130, 135, 136, 144, 147, 157, 158, 164, 178, 179, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 196, 202, 205, 207, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 227, 234, 235, 237, 244, 251, 253, 254, 260, 262, 263, 266, 276, 277, 283, 285, 288, 289, 290, 296, 297, 300, 301, 304, 307, 308, 311, 312, 314, 318, 321, 322, 323, 344, 347, 349, 351, 352, 360, 361, 364, 366, 368, 369, 374, 375, 376, 378, 379, 381, 382, 383, 384, 394, 400, 413, 420, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 436, 437, 438, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 473, 474, 475, 481. They are either described as bases or the text refers to a statue.

80 For the criteria which help to identify inscriptions as honorific with portrait character, see Feijer 1985, 129.

81 This is in accordance with inscriptions in general reaching a quantitative peak during the reign of Septimius Severus, see McMullen 1982, 243.

82 From 300–500 A.D. Horster 1998 has registered about 300 inscriptions from across the Empire honouring provincial governors and the majority of which accompanied portraits.

83 If we look, for example, at Ostia, Forbis 1996 includes 23 inscriptions involving the language of praise out of a total of ca. 60 honorific inscriptions. The number of senators and high ranking equestrians among the honorific inscriptions without praise from Ostia counts for ca. 38%. The figures from Ostia suggest that praise was not as commonly used by high ranking non-local honorands as it was by local ones: or that there were relatively more high ranking honorands in the political and economic centres.

84 I am grateful to Geza Alföldy for encouraging me to check the social make-up to be extracted from Forbis' collection from Italy against the epigraphic evidence from Terraco in Alföldy 1975. The general picture is not much different from Italy but in Terraco there is an even stronger presence of local magistrates.

85 See Forbis 1996, 8 and Alföldy 1984, 62–63.

- 86 Portrait inscriptions for senatorial men include Forbis 1996 nos. 22, 40, 53, 70, 73, 84, 101, 102, 135, 297, 301, 374, 455, 460, 461, 463, 468, 471, 475. Portrait inscriptions for high-ranking equestrian men in Forbis 1996, nos. 86, 89, 106, 123, 179, 185, 188, 285, 288, 400, 413, 430, 431, 433, 437, 438, 454, 456, 457, 462, 469, 470, 473.
- 87 Forbis 1996, 240–4.
- 88 Eilers 2002, 171.
- 89 Forbis 1996 nos. 55, 58.
- 90 Forbis 1996 nos. 45, 81, 85, 209, 248, 254, 312, 349, 364, 453.
- 91 Portrait inscriptions for women in Forbis 1996 nos. 5, 9, 16, 43, 44, 48, 93, 144, 184, 189, 190, 244, 266, 300, 311, 351, 366, 368.
- 92 Portrait inscriptions for senatorial or equestrian women in Forbis 1996 nos. 5, 93, 184, 244, 266, 300.
- 93 See Forbis 1990, 493–512.
- 94 See in particular Boatwright 1991, 249–72.
- 95 See Friesen 1999, 107–15.
- 96 Boatwright 1991, 250 and van Bremen 1996, *passim*.
- 97 Şahin 1999, 186 no. 157.
- 98 Forbis 1990, 495–6 and van Bremen 1983, 236 and van Bremen 1996. In the statues bases commemorating Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus, *sophrosyne* is a common term, see Tobin 1997, 77ff.
- 99 Newby 2002, 177–203, especially 185–86 on the honouring of athletes in Ostia.
- 100 Newby 2002, 59–82.
- 101 Roueché 1993, especially 193–221.
- 102 Van Nijf 1999, 176–200 and 2005, 204. For the statue of Fronto, see Hall & Milner 1994, 7–47 no. 1.
- 103 Şahin 2004, 32–40 nos. 314–318.
- 104 Aphrodisias Museum inv. 70–508/10 (Piseas) and inv. 67–287/8 (Candidianus) in Ratté & Smith 2004, 172–75.
- 105 Van Nijf 1999, 189–93.
- 106 König represents a similar argument in König 2005, 119.
- 107 Athens, National Museum inv. 244, see Lehmann 2001; see also Mango 2003, 112 and von den Hoff 2004, 392 with further evidence.
- 108 Merkelbach & Stauber 2005, 142–47 nos. 703–706.
- 109 Garnsey 1974, 230–52 and Forbis 1990, 494. See also Witschel 1999, 118ff. for an overview.
- 110 Tacitus, *Annals* 3.55 praises the decline of luxus and senatorial ostentation under Vespasian. For the development of the luxurious lifestyle, see Borg & Witschel 2001, 106–16; Marache 1952, 145–7; Champlin 1980, 29–44 and Dillon 1996, 273 with references.
- 111 ILS 5186 and Lendon 1997, 101.
- 112 Quantitatively all types of inscriptions peak during the reign of Septimius Severus, see MacMullen 1982, 243. On the decline of the practice of dedicating statues during the third century A.D. see Alföldy 1984, 66 and 72. On the chronological distribution of honorific statues in Aphrodisias in Caria, see Smith 1999, 173. Further Borg & Witschel 2001, 50–78 with case studies including cities in Italy, Hispania, Africa, and the East including Asia Minor, Syria and Arabia. In Tarraco, Corduba and Augusta Emerita, however, dedication practices changed and the variety among honorands was restricted but there was no decline in numbers, see Panzram 2002, 319ff.
- 113 Borg & Witschel 2002, 53–4 with Puteoli in Campania as case study.
- 114 The office of vicars was established in Asia during the Tetrarchy and remained in place until 535 A.D. For a catalogue of vicars and proconsuls of Asia during that period, see Feissel 1998, 95–103.

- 115 Smith 1999 gives a convincing evocation of the changes in late Roman portraiture.
- 116 Fagan 1999, especially 142–46.
- 117 For a critical assessment of the explanations for the decline of honorific statues and of inscriptions in general during the third century, the so-called epigraphic habit (Macmullen 1982), see above all Borg & Witschel 2001, 78–90.
- 118 Borg & Witschel 2001, 90–118, and *passim*.
- 119 For the eastern part of the Empire, see Quass 1993, 210ff. and van Nijf 1997, 75.
- 120 See Gleason 1995, 8 note 31 on a statue of the sophist Lollianus set up in Athens by his pupils and other examples of statues of sophists, see also Gleason 1995, 21 on Polemo's statue outside Smyrna seen long after his death.
- 121 Corbeill 2004, 115 on the dishonourable profession of actors and Pekáry 1978, 733 on an actor in Asia Minor honoured with 23 statues.
- 122 It is only of Polydeukion, a pupil of Herodes Atticus that as many as 15 sculpted portraits are preserved.
- 123 Eck 1995, 218–26.
- 124 Lendon 1997, 3 with note 6.
- 125 Kajava 1990, 76.
- 126 Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodian Oration* 156.
- 127 Forbis 1996 nos. 215, 216, 217. Also nos. 34, 130, 144, and 185 which mention more than one statue being awarded.
- 128 Alföldy 1984, 67.
- 129 Boatwright 1991, *passim* and Boatwright 2000, 64–66.
- 130 Dillon 1996, 261–74.
- 131 Smith 1998, 82.
- 132 For epigraphic evidence of the governing officials, see Erkelenz 2003, 55–60. Extant statuary groups include for example:
1. The late Republican Balbii from the basilica in Herculaneum, see below p. 219–23.
 2. The late Republican so-called Cartoceto bronzes perhaps representing an aristocratic family from Forum Semprioni in Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche in Ancona but secondarily buried, see Pollini 1993, Böhm 2000 and Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 54–58. See figs. 23–24.
 3. The early-first century A.D. group from the bouleuterion in Aphrodisias, see Hallett 1998.
 4. The late-first century A.D. Bassus family group from Roselle, see Liverani 1994.
 5. The Hadrianic group from Perge of Plancia Magna and her kinsmen, see Boatwright 2000, 64–66.
 6. Olympia, *nymphaeum* of Herodes Atticus of Herodes himself with the imperial family in Bol 1984 with further groups.
 7. Perge, Nymphaeum F2, Severan group of Paulina and the imperial family, see Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 229–30 no. 86 and discussed p. 362.
 8. The Severan statues from Aphrodisias of Tatiana and Domitius, see Smith 1998, 66–68 with further groups.
- 133 These inscriptions are collected from Italy and discussed by Forbis 1990, 502ff. with table II.
- 134 Alföldy 1975 with 16 bases honouring senators, 16 honouring equites and procuratores, 15 honouring military persons, two low functionaries and 79 provincial magistrates. See also Panzram 2002, 43–127.
- 135 Tuchelt 1979 who includes 114 portrait inscriptions. Tuchelt has divided the inscriptions into three groups: with 55 honouring local magistrates, 20 honouring family members of local magistrates and 37 honouring imperial aristocrats. For the later periods in the Roman East, see Quass 1993. The governors of Syria are documented by Dabrowa 1998.
- 136 Eck 1992, 363–6 and Alföldy 2001, 11–46, discussed p. 376.

- 137 Eck 1992, 361–2 with previous literature.
- 138 Alföldy 2001, 36–7.
- 139 Eck 1997, 73–97.
- 140 Fittschen 1996, 42–52.
- 141 Niquet 2000, 21ff.
- 142 Some may have been honoured with a statue during their childhood as Gaius Annius Arminius Donatus who is described as *puer* on the base which once carried his statue in the forum of Timgad, see Zimmer 1989, 70 no. T3.
- 143 Eck 1996.
- 144 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo inv. 126372. There is no trace of the portrait being re-cut or being later than the rest of the sarcophagus, as suggested by Goette 1990, 95 amongst others. It is a common phenomenon that the portrait heads are different in style and technique from the heads of the ideal (standard) figures on Roman sarcophagi. This must be seen in the light of the sarcophagi being commissions arriving with unfinished heads which were then finished – not recut – on site in the tomb. I thank Barbara Borg for having drawn my attention to the fact that the portrait of the young boy on the Acilia sarcophagus is not recut. Wrede 2001, 74 also doubts that the head is recut. See also his alternative interpretation of the figure.
- 145 It has been argued that busts or images which depict the honorand in general resting on acanthus foliage indicate that the patrons are dead, see Jucker 1961, 133ff. The Roman emperor and empress were usually deified after death and we can therefore see from the inscription whether the statue was set up posthumously, see above.
- 146 Forbis 1996 nos. 67, 158, 219, and van Bremen 1996, 170 on a certain Appolonis who is granted a statue posthumously and van Bremen 1996, 167 a certain StratoniKE is honoured posthumously with a marble statue and painted portrait. See further van Bremen 1996, 158. Some inscriptions (Forbis 1996 nos. 158 and 219) mention the award of both a public funeral and a statue. This statue could of course have been placed on the tomb but it seems most likely that it was an honorific statue for public display.
- 147 See Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodian Oration*, 2–4 and *Oration* 44, 3–4 where he talks about a posthumous statue honouring his mother.
- 148 Forbis 1996 no. 130.
- 149 Forbis 1996 nos. 28, 67, 75, 85, 91, 130, 135, 144, 147, 158, 219, 227, 234, 254.
- 150 Forbis 1996 no. 135 is the altar set up to commemorate the senator and proconsul Nonius Balbus after his death. Members of the high aristocracy were of course also honoured posthumously but not exclusively so. Nonius Balbus received a number of statues while still alive and the honour and the monument which he was awarded after his death does not take the form of a statue but rather of an altar to contain his remains, see below.
- 151 For equestrian statues Bergemann 1990, 15 has suggested that high officials were usually honoured when alive while local decuriones were usually already dead when they were honoured with such a statue.
- 152 See p. 107.
 Portraits of private patrons set up in the public sphere highly outnumber those dedicated to the imperial family in both Venetia and in Tarraco. In Tarraco there are 22 imperial portrait inscriptions as opposed to 57 of private persons. However, different locations around the city may show different patterns. In the cities of Thamugadi and Cuicul investigations have shown that on the forum of both of these cities statues of the emperor and the virtues of the emperor dominate.
- 153 Pliny, *Letters* I.XVII.4
- 154 Lendon 1997, 48.

- 155 See for example Forbis 1996 nos. 97, 251 and 323.
- 156 The formula *H A I R (honore accepto impensam remisit)* is sometimes found. For honorands themselves paying for their statues see Forbis 1996 nos. 34, 44, 351.
- 157 For inscriptions set up by clients to patrons in North Africa, see Saller 1982, 195–99.
- 158 Millar 1993, 279, 320, 330, 336 on honorific statues. I 24 is a statue dedicated in Palmyre to a certain Makichos by all the merchants in Babylon, see Miller 1993, 322 and Cantineau 1930, inv. IX no. 11.
- 159 Salomies 1999, 143 with note 8.
- 160 Jalabert & Mouterde 1967, 109 no. 2791 and Miller 1993, 279.
- 161 Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations inv. 114.88.99, 114.130.99 and 113.539.99, see French 2003, 107–12 nos. 15–17.
- 162 Van Nijf 1997, 73–128, especially 120–26.
- 163 Tuchelt 1979, 58, for example.
- 164 Horster 1998, 37–58.
- 165 Van Bremen 1996, 147 n.18.
- 166 Bauer 1996, 133. Compare also now Alföldy & Panciera 2000, 5049–5021 for Rome in detail.
- 167 Dio Chrystom, *Oration* 66 discussed in Pekáry 2002, 104.
- 168 Marengo 1991, 575–7.
- 169 In the material collected by Forbis 1996 there are 19 senatorial portrait inscriptions nos. 22, 40, 53, 84, 1–1–2, 135, 183, 297, 301, 374, 455, 457, 460–1, 463, 468, 471, 475 and 20 equestrians nos. 70, 73, 86, 106, 123, 179, 185, 285, 288, 400, 430–1, 433, 437–8, 454, 456, 462, 469, 473. See now Erkelenz 2003, 174–88, concluding that the imperial office holders were awarded statues because of their accomplishments. The inscriptions do not support this notion. What is essential here is to note that the dedicatory practices regarding the imperial officeholders were different from those of the locals but similar to the way in which statues of the emperor were dedicated. It could be argued that statues were set up in honour of the emperor in return for his benefactions in the very broad sense of his preserving the Empire.
- 170 Forbis 1996 no. 468.
- 171 A corresponding procedure may be found in Dio Chrysostom's *Rhodian Oration* 31.
- 172 AE 1931.38. The inscription is discussed in Lendon 1997, 198.
- 173 Goffin 2002 is an exhaustive study on euergetism in Northern Italy from the Republic into the fourth century A.D.
- 174 A local Palmyrenean by the name of HSS received a statue from two Palmyrenean tribes because he had facilitated the peace between them, see Millar 1977, 322.
- 175 Martin 1996, 60.
- 176 See p. 71 and Forbis 1996 no. 381 discussed above.
- 177 See for example van Bremen, 189, describing a woman at Rhodes who was crowned for her victory in a chariot race – i.e. as the owner of horses and chariot – “with many crowns, statues and silver portraits”, TAM III 1,4.
- 178 See in particular Gauthier 1985.
- 179 For the social anthropology of gift-giving, see Godelier 1999.
- 180 Forbis 1996, 53 and no. 92.
- 181 The inscription is Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 1952 no. 601b and discussed and translated in Fagan 1999, 270–71 cat. 117.
- 182 Hölscher 1998.
- 183 For Nonius Balbus, see Zanker 1983, 260–63; Schumacher 1976; Pappalardo 1997 and Pappalardo 2005.

- 184 Every fourth year for a founder of agonistic games and his wife in Herakleia Salbake, Caria, see van Bremen 1996, 190 note 173.
- 185 Forbis 1996 no. 88. An actor (see above note 121) is known to have been awarded 23 statues around the cities of Asia Minor and the actor Caius Norbanus Sorex was honoured with a herm in the entrance to the sanctuary of Isis in Pompeii according to a decree of the decuriones. Likewise in Pompeii he was honoured with another herm in the so-called building of Eumachia, and a third herm is known from the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi, see Granino Cecere 1988–89 and here below.
- 186 Forbis 1996 no. 364.
- 187 Quoted from the translation by Martin 1996, 53.
- 188 On the upper forum of Taracco, numerous statues bases commemorate provincial priests – *flamines provinciae Hispaniae*, see Alföldy 1973 and Borg & Witschel 2001, 56.
- 189 Smith 2002, 135.
- 190 Discussed in Bauer 1996, 294–97.
- 191 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme in Bragantini & De Vos 1982.
- 192 Zanker 1995, 115 fig. 54a.
- 193 A copy of the rather faded painting now in Naples, Museo Nazionale was made for EUR in the 1930s and shows details that are now lost. On the permanent display of public documents and their role in the construction of identity, see Chaniotis 2003, 72–77 on the so-called archive wall in Aphrodisias.
- 194 For the decorative use of honorific statues in Dio Chrysostom, see Friedländer 1920, 68. See also Witschel 1995.
- 195 Salomies 2001, 152–53 with previous literature.
- 196 Boatwright 2000, 61.
- 197 Pliny, *HN* 34.25 See Forbis 1996 4 note 14 with references. See also Lahusen 1983, 129–31.
- 198 Apollonis of Kyzikos in Asia Minor was in the early first century A.D. honoured with a gilded bronze statue that might be displayed all over the town on sites preferred by the family, see van Bremen 1996, 1–3 and 170 and in Gordos in Asia Minor likewise in the first century A.D. a woman by the name of Stratonike was honoured with a painted portrait (*eikon*) and a marble *agalma*, which were to be placed wherever her relatives chose, see van Bremen 167. From Praeneste and Capua inscriptions likewise record a free choice for display, see Forbis 1996 nos. 91–130.
- 199 The people of Aptera in Crete awarded Attalos I a statue to be erected wherever he pleased, see Welsh 1904/5, 46.
- 200 *IG VII* 190 and Laum 1914 no. 22. Translation from Hands 1968, 181f.
- 201 A *biga* was set up in honour of a certain Proculus in the amphitheatre of Amiternum in Regio 4 and dated 235–284 A.D., see Forbis 1996 no. 235. A statue was set up to a priestess in the cult of Venus and Ceres in the temple of Venus in Surrentum in Regio 1, see Forbis 1996 no. 158. Nine statues of L. Volusius Saturninus were awarded at different spots around the city of Rome. On the forum Forbis 1996 nos. 34, 85, 216, 432, 468. In literary sources we find occasionally a relative location of a particular statue. It is described as being positioned near a well known monument in the city as for example the statue of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, a consul of the Scipio family, whose statue stood by the monument of ‘Polykles’ Herakles’ in Rome, see Lahusen 1984, 42 no. 175, Cicero, *Atticus* 6,1,17.
- 202 Alföldy 1984, 65 and Bergemann 1990, 17.
- 203 See the evidence collected by Sehlmeyer 1999, 63ff. and 83ff.
- 204 See Forbis 1996 no. 468.

- 205 See Bergemann 1990, 17.
- 206 Zimmer 1989, 18–37.
- 207 Bergemann 1990, 19.
- 208 Van Nijf 1997, 113.
- 209 Smith 2002, 135.
- 210 Discussed in detail in the Addendum.
- 211 There was for example also a Julio-Claudian imperial family group in the Porticus Lentulorum, see Alföldy 2001, 17.
- 212 Zanker 1995, 120f.
- 213 Sehlmeyer 1999, 168 on the *fornix* type with statues.
- 214 Horn & Boehringer 1966, 475.
- 215 Philostrat VS 1.7 (488). Quoted from Lendon 1997, 38.
- 216 This statue and its location in Corinth is now discussed by White 2005, 73–90.
- 217 On a column in the portico of the Baalshamin temple in Palmyra the statues were not in the round but were cut in relief, see Laubscher 1999, 221.
- 218 Bauer 1996, 278; Smith 1999, 185 and Rosenbaum 1966, 151–53 cat. 194 with discussion of the identification.
- 219 Mansel 1956, 109–10. For Plancia Magna and her activities in Perge, see Boatwright 1982.
- 220 Bol 1984. An overview of the nymphaea in Asia Minor is available in Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001.
- 221 Fuchs 1987, 180–5.
- 222 Erim & Smith 1991, 84 and 97. On the statues see above with note 104.
- 223 İskan 2002, 265 figs. 12–13. Both statues in Antalya Museum without inventory number may show Hadrian. It seems unlikely that a portrait of Trajan should have been ‘revised’ with a beard as suggested by İskan.
- 224 Valeri 2002, 213–28.
- 225 See the portrait of a Hadrianic man from Ostia, Museo Ostiense inv. 48 found in the palaestra in the Terme del Foro, in Calza 1964, 84 cat. 134. See also a male statue from the Abano Thermae in Padua in Venice, Museo Archeologico inv. 265 DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 68.5044.
- 226 Manderscheid 1981, 34–35 and Auinger 2003. See also the epigraphic evidence collected by Fagan 1999.
- 227 AE 1911, 217 discussed in Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2002, 130–31.
- 228 Feijer 2006, 91–94.
- 229 For the late antique statues of magistrates found in the *Horti Liciniani* in Rome, see Cima 1998, 443–45 and generally on the role of *horti* and their sculptural display, see also Wallace-Hadrill 1999.
- 230 Based on Rosenbaum 1960. Of the 64 portraits of private people 24 are from temples and sanctuaries.
- 231 Based on Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 1952.
- 232 Calza 1964 and Calza 1978.
- 233 Based on Alföldy 1975.
- 234 See Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 1952, 165 no. 638.
- 235 For portraits in sanctuaries in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period, see Tuchelt 1979. On third-century B.C. Rhodes, for example, the *boule* and the *demos* found the sanctuary of Asclepios so overcrowded with statues and other dedications that they would no longer accept further applications (*aiteseis*) for permission for the setting up statues or other dedications in the lower sanctuary or near the paths (*peripatoi*) where these could be in the way. The officials (*astynomoi*) should see to that this instruction was kept, see Sokolowski 1962, 197. I owe this reference to Vincent Gabrielsen.
- 236 Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodian Oration* 44.2.

- 237 Moltesen 1997, 118–24 and *passim*.
- 238 Bol 1984, 99, 109.
- 239 Galli 2001, 61.
- 240 Galli 2001, 49 with note 36.
- 241 Cyrene Museum inv. 17027, see Rosenbaum 1960, 62–63 no. 61.
- 242 Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 3068, in Kersauson 1996, 308, no. 139. Compare the hairstyles of Faustina Minor worn around 160 A.D. in Fittschen & Zanker 1983 no. 114. Several female portraits from Cyrene derive from temples, see Rosenbaum 1960.
- 243 See for example Forbis 1996, no. 158 where the male benefactor is awarded a statue and tomb in a public location whereas the female benefactor (his wife?) is awarded a bronze statue to be placed in the temple of Venus at Surrentum.
- 244 The *Augustalis* L. Kaninius Hermes senior and his son were awarded a *clipeus* in the *sacellum* of the *Augustales* in Misenum, see Miniero 2000, 52.
- 245 Price 1984, 42ff. and Fishwick 1987, 46ff.
- 246 Tanner 2000.
- 247 For the inauguration ceremonies and the reoccurring events that took place in front of the honorific statue, see also Fejfer 2002.
- 248 Fishwick 1989, 335–47.
- 249 Payne 1984, 32 and 402–3 nos. 7 and 14 and Lahusen 1992, 185.,
- 250 Pernice 1910, 107. Also Juvenal, *Sat. XII* 86 on wax.
- 251 For this important inscription, see D'Arms 2000, 126–44, esp. 140.
- 252 For the wreath to be placed around Nonius Balbus' statue, see below p. 224
- 253 Hannestad 1994, 20ff.
- 254 Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodian Oration* 37–40.
- 255 Cicero, *Att. VI*, I 26
- 256 Suetonius, *Caligula* 34, 1. For epigraphic evidence see Witschel 333 with reference to *CIL VIII* 7076 an inscription from Cirta in North Africa from ca. 160 A.D.: *viam commeatibus incommodam partim adstructis crepidinibus aequatisque statuis quae iter totius fori angustabant*.
- 257 Stuart 2003, 128–36 on the overpopulation of Roman cities with statues. The important article by Kockel 2005 with convincing evidence for the moving around with honorific statues in the forum in Pompeii appeared too late to be included in the discussion. It confirms my observations.
- 258 A statue of Plancia Magna from Perge was also moved probably a generation after it was first set up in another location in the city (see below) and P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus consul during the reign of Marcus Aurelius had requested in his testament that a statue of him set up by the Province of Arabia in his house in Rome should be moved after his death to Cirta, see Eck 1997, 97. Such 'positive' removals represent the exception, however.
- 259 See *CIL VIII* 7046 and Lahusen 1992, 177.
- 260 Blikenberg 1941, no. 419 dated to 22 A.D. I owe this reference to Vincent Gabrielsen.
- 261 The number of reworked portraits does in fact seem to peak during the period of Dio (who died sometime after 112 A.D.) with portraits of Nero and Domitian being extensively reworked, see Bergmann & Zanker 1981.
- 262 I am grateful to F. Hölscher for drawing my attention to this aspect of the honorific statue. The third century B.C. writer Herodas gives a vivid description of statues which are so life like that they seem to speak or bleed, Herodas, *Mimes* IV 20–40. Loeb edition 1922 translated by A.D. Knox. See generally on response Gregory 1994, 87 and for the connection between power and smell in Roman society, see also Potter 1999.
- 263 From Cuicul and Timgad the late statues dominate, i.e. there have been some removal of early imperial statues, see Zimmer 1989.

- 264 Borg & Witschel 2001, 83–86.
- 265 Pekáry 1978, 734–35 on posthumous statues.
- 266 Pliny, *Letters* II.VII 6–7. Translation from E.H. Warmington, *Pliny Letters and Panegyricus*. Loeb edition 1969.
- 267 See also van Bremen 1996, 186 recording a number of statues erected posthumously with a consolatory role, as they were erected in the memory of a son or daughter. Although dedicated by the public the premature death is regretted and the parents are consoled in the inscriptions.
- 268 Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodian Oration* 3–4.
- 269 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXIV.17. Loeb edition translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London 1968.
- 270 Just as the emperor was honoured posthumously so were members of the aristocracy. Of the 12 statue bases known to commemorate Regilla at least 5 were posthumous, Tobin 1997, 80–81.
- 271 For feasts at the dedication of a statue, see Hands 1968, 187 nos. D26–27 and Purcell 1986, 91.
- 272 Heinzelmann 2000, 128 discusses the social status of the father of Hermogenes.
- 273 Translated by George Hinge and Ittai Gradel. See Forbis 1996, no. 67 = *CIL* XIV 353 and Feijer 2002, 250–54.
- 274 Heinzelmann 2000, 127–29 on tomb PR A3b.
- 275 Large heavy garlands of flowers or wool are occasionally represented on portrait statues of priests, see a statue of a priestess of Isis from Cyrene in Cyrene Museum inv. 17027 in Rosenbaum 1960, 62–63 no. 61 here fig. 34 and a statue of a priest in the cult of Cybele from Cherchel in Cherchel Museum inv. S.93, see Sintes & Rebahi 2003, 163 no. 72.
- 276 Translated by George Hinge and Ittai Gradel. Forbis 1996 no. 34 = *CIL* X 5853 and Feijer 2002, 250–54.
- 277 *CIL* X 5852. The monuments of Aulus Quinctilius in Ferentinum are discussed by Ramieri 1995, 126–30 and 187–92.
- 278 Laum 1914 no. 81.
- 279 Laum 1914 nos. 81, 83, 85, 112. G. Forbis no. 65 on the decoration of P. Horatius Chrysos' statue yearly on his birthday.
- 280 Such foundations were of course not confined to statues but could stipulate the maintenance of tombs and other monuments. But they all had the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the patron.
- 281 For the importance of memory for the identity of a society, see above all Assmann 1992. Now also Hölscher 2005.
- 282 Translated by George Hinge and Ittai Gradel. Forbis 1996 no. 381.
- 283 Polemo, Philostratus VS 1.25 (532), quoted from Lendon 1997, 74f.
- 284 Above all Flower 1996.
- 285 For later use see Flower 1996, 223–69. See also Blösel 2000, 85ff.
- 286 Syme 1986, 32ff. and Wiseman 1971.
- 287 Doonan 1999, 73–85.
- 288 Sehlmeyer 1999, 47f.
- 289 Smith 1998, 70–73.
- 290 Boatwright 1991.
- 291 A term which is coined by Philostratus, VS 1.25 (481); for problems associated with the term, see Whitmarsh 2001, 42–45.
- 292 Newby 2003, 200 with references.
- 293 van Bremen 1996, 164.
- 294 Evidence in Borg & Witschel 2001, 55 with note 39, 56 with note 45; cf. Smith 1999, 160–61.
- 295 Borg & Witschel 2001, 90–118.

Corporate Spaces, Houses, Villas and Tombs

- 1 Eck & Caballos & Fernández 1996, 44 line 80. See also *AJP* 120 (1999) devoted to this *senatus consultum*.
- 2 Gregory 1994, 92.
- 3 Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2002, 150–3.
- 4 For socio-historical theories on the role of *collegia*, see Bendlin 2002, 9–34.
- 5 For the variety of corporations, see the index in Bollmann 1998, 482–85.
- 6 Schwarzer 2002, 221–44.
- 7 See Liebeschütz 1979, 64–66.
- 8 Beard & North & Price 1998, 357f.
- 9 Again it must be remembered that the basis for this is Forbis' investigation. Of course some *Augustales* were honoured with a statue in public and by the public as the wealthy Lucius Mammius Maximus in Herculaneum fig. 1 (see Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 140–41 no. 82) but the extant dedications are not numerous. Only one of the statue bases from Misenum can be associated with a public context. It was found much earlier and the exact spot in which it was discovered was not recorded, see *CIL* X 1881; base 11 is discussed by F. Zevi in Miniero 2000, 60. The base honours the *Augustalis* L. Licinius Primitivus and was dedicated by the *Augustales* but with the addition of *L D D D* (*locus datus decreto decurionum*). This almost certainly implies a public context for Licinius Primitivus' statue. If associated with the *sacellum* the base and its now missing statue must have been moved there after having been displayed in a public context.
- 10 Sculpture and inscriptions are in Baiae, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei: equestrian statue of Domitian inv. 155743, nude statue of Vespasian inv. 153950; nude statue of Titus inv. 153951; headless female statue inv. 230871; Fortuna statue inv. 155741; Fortuna statue w.i.; sculpted reliefs from base inv. 233967–233968. Much research has recently been done on the Misenum complex. Two articles and a guidebook appeared in 2000, D'Arms concentrates on one of the inscriptions, base 9 honouring Q. Cominius Abascantus, and analyses it in a wide cultural historical context, see D'Arms 2000, 126–44. Miniero 2000; Muscettola 2000, 79–108. De Franciscis 1991 is the excavation report. Now also Wohlmayr 2004, 94–101.
- 11 Base 3 to Apollo, base 4 to Liber Pater, base 5 to Asclepius, and base 8 to Venus.
- 12 The numbering of the bases is according to Miniero 2000 with base 1 to Trajan, base 2 and 6 to Nerva.
- 13 Base 9 to Q. Cominius Abascantus, base 10 to C. Iulius Phoebus, and base 11 to L. Licinius Primitivus. The last base was not actually found in the excavation, see above note 9.
- 14 It cannot be excluded that the horse of Domitian/Nerva had fallen in from the *summa cavea* of the adjoining theatre, see Wohlmayr 2004, 99 with bibliography.
- 15 Witschel 1995, 369 argues however that the templum referred to is to be identified with another more important temple in Cumae.
- 16 Miniero 2000, 51.
- 17 D'Arms 2000, 133.
- 18 This inscription figures clearly on the excavation photo, see De Franciscis 1991 fig. 46 but it appears to be too small for the large niche; it is not certain that it is a statue base and it cannot originally have been intended for the central niche.
- 19 Recorded in a panel on the flank of the base for an equestrian statue commemorating Trajan, see Miniero 2000, 50–52. The inscription is published in Camodeca 1996, 161–68.
- 20 Bertoldi 1973, 41. See here fig. 39. Emperors in *cipeatae* in Ostia, discussed p. 167.
- 21 On the basis of an investigation of the *collegia* in Ostia, Egelhaaf-Gaiser argues for a strong difference between public access to the cultic structures of the guild-like

- collegia* and to those of the religious *collegia* and that the *scholae* and structures of the *collegia* of *Augustales* were closer to the guild-like *collegia* than to the religious ones, see Egelhaff-Gaiser 2002, 145.
- 22 *CIL VI* 40334; *CIL VI* 40307; Panella 1996a; Friggeri 2001, 75–77; Boschung 2002, 118–19.
- 23 Morizio 1996 with fig. 118a.
- 24 For reconstruction of the different phases of the large base see the instructive drawing in Morizio 1996a, 203 fig. 180. For a portrait head of a private person from the complex in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano w.i., see Panella 1996a, 218 fig. 183.
- 25 The main publication is Fabbri & Trotta 1989; see also Nutton 1970, 211–25, Bollmann 1998, 356–62 and *passim*, and Boschung 2002, 112–13 with bibliography.
- 26 See the plan of the distribution of finds of which the find spot is known in Fabbri & Trotta 1989, p. 68. More recently on the architecture, see Luschin 2002, 109–11.
- 27 There is a list of the finds in Fabbri & Trotta 1989, 20.
- 28 So Nutton 1970, 219.
- 29 Compare for example the sculptural programme in the *schola* of the *Mensores Frumentarii* (corn measures) in Ostia in Egelhaff-Gaiser 2002, 138–40 and the programme in the *schola* of *Dendrofori* in the sanctuary of Magna Mater with small silver images of deities and members of the Antonine and Severan imperial family set up by the *corpus* of *Connofori*, in Rieger 2004, 143–46 and 290ff. See also a new interpretation of the porticoed building, the so-called basilica at Herculaneum with its rich sculptural programme, as a ‘center’ of *Augustales*, Najbjerg 2002, 122–165.
- 30 The standard publication is Scheid 1990. An unpublished MA thesis by M. Kremer, *Untersuchungen zur Aufstellungspraxis und zu den Aufstellungskontexten römischer Kaiserstatuen der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus*. Heidelberg 2000 explores the relationship between emperor and *collegium*.
- 31 For the find see Scheid 1990, 159.
- 32 Rome, Vatican Museums, Galleria Lapidaria inv. 9302 in *CIL VI* 1012.
- 33 1. Hadrian (*CIL VI* 968); 2. Antoninus Pius (*CIL VI* 1000); 3. Marcus Aurelius (*CIL VI* 1012); 4. Lucius Verus (*CIL VI* 1021), 5. Septimius Severus (*CIL VI* 1026); 6. Caracalla (*CIL VI* 1053); 7. Gordian III (*CIL VI* 1093).
- 34 For the four portraits, see below note 39. Other interpretations and associated to the corn supply of Rome listed in Boschung 1993, 182–3 under cat. 176.
- 35 Evers 1991, 254–59.
- 36 For a discussion of the date of the third portrait type of Marcus Aurelius, see Fejfer 1998, 47–48.
- 37 See p. 416 with note 173.
- 38 Duplicate portraits of the same private or imperial person were quite normal.
- 39 The Augustus portrait in Rome, Vatican Museums, Sala dei Busti 274 inv. 715 derives from the Villa Mattei and can be traced back to the early 18th century; the Lucius Verus in Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 1169 entered the Louvre before the end of the 18th century but its earlier provenance is uncertain. Apparently it does not come from the Écouen Castle as was earlier assumed but according to K. de Kersauson perhaps from Modena, Palazzo Ducale, see Kersauson 1996, 270 no. 121. The Marcus Aurelius in London in the British Museum inv. 1907 came via G. Hamilton from the Mattei Collection, see Smith 1904, 162 no. 1907 and the Antoninus Pius in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1180 entered the Écouen Castle before 1793, see Kersauson 1996, 198 no. 84.
- 40 For the *schola* of the *Iobacchi* in Athens, see Schäfer 2002.
- 41 Liebeschütz 1979, 63–64.

- 42 Documentation and discussion of earlier literature are found in Kunze 1996, 109–29 especially 113–15.
- 43 Flower 1996, 46f. on the evidence in Plautus.
- 44 For the biased nature of the sources, see in particular Doonan 1999, 74.
- 45 So Dwyer 1982, 127–8 and Flower 1996, 195. Only a few portraits from houses in Pompeii can be identified by inscription, see Bonifacio 1997.
- 46 Bonifacio 1997, 99–100 no. 39 with bibliography.
- 47 On miniature portraits, see Dahmen 2001.
- 48 Liebeschutz 1979, 69.
- 49 Dahmen 2001, 96–98 on portraits of private persons and 58–60 on imperial portraits in houses. The number of portraits from villas in Italy is also limited see Neudecker 1988, 75–91.
- 50 From the house of the columns comes a Severan female portrait while another female portrait has been found close to the house of the columns, see Calza 1978, nos. 28 and 85. A male portrait was found in the house of Apuleius, but in a secondary context, see Calza I 32–33 no. 33. From the house of Fortuna Annonaria apparently come three portraits covering the period from late-second into the late-third century A.D., see Hannestad 1994, 106.
- 51 According to Smith & Porcher 1864, 76, two busts of emperors were found in the house of Jason Magnus in Cyrene including a bust of Antoninus Pius now in London, British Museum inv. 1463 in Rosenbaum 1960, 57 no. 46 and a bust of Marcus Aurelius also in London, British Museum inv. 1464 in Rosenbaum 1966, 58 no. 49a; see also Luni 2006, 31. Other emperor portraits from Cyrene may derive from that complex too, see Smith & Porcher 1864, 104–5.
- 52 For the domus of Plautianus, see Steinby II 1993, 105–6. For an Antonine portrait of a man (inv. 120), and a headless second century A.D. female bust (w.i.) found in a late antique domus on the Celio in Rome and now in the adjoining Antiquarium, see, *Le Case Romane del Celio, Forma Urbis anno VII* no. 10 October 2002. On the sculptural décor of the late antique domus and villa see Hannestad 1994, 105ff. and Bergmann 1999, 26–42. See also the collection of sculpture found in a late antique villa at Antioch in Brinkerhoff 1971, 7–28 for the portraits.
- 53 Ephesos, Efes Müzesi inv. 81/59/80 P 12/80 (Livia) and 81/59/80 P 13/80 (Tiberius) in Aurenhammer 1983, 105ff. and Aurenhammer 2003, 178 with note 299.
- 54 Ephesos, Efes Müzesi 1/32/82, Fn P 33/82, see Aurenhammer 1983, 125 and Christof & Rathmayr 2002, 143 with note 64.
- 55 So two miniature busts, one in pavozetto and the other probably in onyx found in the so-called Apartment II in Hanghaus 2a in Ephesos, plate 21a.
- 56 Hannestad 1994, 133–34 and Bergmann 1999, 41f.
- 57 Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 42–43 no. 11.
- 58 Probably in room 16 with the mosaic of Hylas, see Thouvenot 1958, 69–74. In the house was found other collectables, as the bronze bust identified as Juba II (also found sitting on a tall base composed of tile) and a statuette of an old fisherman, see Thouvenot 1958, 78–85.
- 59 Smith 2002, 140f. For a similar development in Rome, see for example Alföldy 2001a, 6.
- 60 From Casa degli Amorini Dorati: Regio VI, 16, 7, see Bonifacio 1997, 99–100 no. 39.
- 61 For the villa at Oplontis, see Bergmann 2002 with bibliography. For Regulus' villa see Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 4, 2, 5 discussed by Pekary 1985, 91.
- 62 For a splendid analysis of the interplay of art and nature in the villa, see Bergmann 2002, 87–120, especially 92–95.
- 63 Head of a boy (inv. OP.2518) and head probably of an imperial Julio-Claudian woman (inv. OP.2517) were found with herms in grey marble in the north garden (nos. 2 and 4 on fig. 60 here), see De Caro 1987, 90–91 no. 6 and 92 no. 7.

- The head of a boy (w.i.) found by the large pool (no. 5 on fig. 60 here) cannot be associated with a “support”, see De Caro 1987, 112–13 no. 19.
- 64 On portraits of Greek men of letters in a Roman villa context, see Vorster 1998, 56–8. For a miniature bronze portrait of Epicurus from the Villa dei Papiri, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 546, see De Caro 1996, 298. Further, Pliny the Elder, *HN* 35,9 mentions bronze portraits of philosophers in libraries.
- 65 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* I 2, 1–4. Here quoted from the Loeb edition, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, translated by J.C. Rolfe. London 1970.
- 66 Neudecker 1988, 81–82.
- 67 Pliny is upset about the speaker Massala who included an image among his ancestors which did not quite represent one of his own family (*HN* 35,8) Pliny is also annoyed by the many *homines illustres*.
- 68 So Zanker 1987, 40. See also Wojcik 1986, 42 and Pozzi 1989, 130, no. 173. For Aischines, Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. 6018 and Isocrates, Naples, Museo Nazionale 6126, see Pozzi 1989 nos. 171 and 172.
- 69 Cicero, *Verres* 4. I owe this reference to Barbara Borg.
- 70 Bergemann 1990, 12–13 in Castel Gandolfo, Villa Barberini.
- 71 Generally for sculptures deriving from the Villa Hadriana, see Raeder 1983 and selectively Charles-Gaffiot & Lavagne 1999.
- 72 Eck 1972.
- 73 The sculptures published in Sgubini Moretti 1977.
- 74 Schneider 1995, 11–34 and Meier 1995, 62–63.
- 75 See above all Alföldy 2001, 13ff.; Eck 1984, 134 with reference to Lahusen 1983, 39 note 277 as incomplete.
- 76 The third may have been dedicated by a province, see Neudecker 1988, 77.
- 77 Neudecker 1988, 77–78. New archival investigations throw doubt on the find of the togati but not the bases, see Polignac 2000, 635–40.
- 78 A family group with statuary dedications to three generations and set up in Centuripe on Sicily shows, however, that municipal families, which were not excluded from the public sphere preferred to be commemorated together with their ancestors in their private villas with large-scale and public-style dedications, see Eck 1997, 97.
- 79 CIL VI 31742; 31743, Eck 1984, 134–5 and Eck 1992, 363–66 with further evidence for Rome. For the statuary dedications in the house of the Vestals in the Roman Forum, see Frei-Stolba 1998.
- 80 Witschel 1995, 345.
- 81 Teramo, Museo Civico w.i., see Sanzi Di Mino & Nista 1993, 100 no. 33 pl. 35. It was found with two Antonine female portraits nos. 31 and 32.
- 82 For the sculpture gallery at Dion and its interpretation, see Zanker 1995a, 218–9.
- 83 For the villa of Herodes Atticus at Marathon, see Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos 1996, 46–55; Galli 2002, 144–178.
- 84 Tobin 1997, 75 and Galli 2002, 148.
- 85 Goette 2001, 425f.
- 86 A statue in the Louvre depicting Antinous as a shepherd, Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 578 with unknown provenance, see Kersauson 1996, 158, no. 65, and a relief discovered at a villa site (probably) by Torre del Padiglione, 50km south of Rome, depicting Antinous in a pastoral landscape beside a small alter and wearing a short tunic, formerly in Istituto per la Bonifica delle Agro Pontino, Fondazione Cariplo and now on loan to Palazzo Massimo, demonstrate that portraits could take on a similar imported Greek meaning in the West. The relief from Torre del Padiglione is in pentelic marble and inscribed on the altar in the Greek ANTOONIANOS ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙCΙEYC ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, made by Antonianos of Aphrodisias. Whether sculpted in a workshop in Italy or imported from the East this relief emphasises the Greek origins of the heroisation of Antinous.

- 87 Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos 2003, 463–70. A portrait bust of Commodus witness the continued importance of the site.
- 88 The essential reference for the typology of Roman tombs is von Hesberg 1992.
- 89 Toynbee 1971, 33–39 and *passim* is still fundamental. Cicero, for example, searched for a long time to find a suitable spot to bury his daughter Tullia, see von Hesberg 1992, 6. Cicero, *ad Att.* 12,19ff.
- 90 For an overview of tomb painting, see Barbet 2001.
- 91 Brilliant 1999, 145–48.
- 92 Bodel 1999 on appreciation of funerary spectacles. The so-called *Laudatio Turiae*, *CIL VI* 1527, is the best preserved *laudatio* commemorating Turia, wife of Q. Lucretius Vespollo, who was consul in 19 B.C. For a translation and discussion, see Wistrand 1976.
- 93 For the role of the funerary inscription, see Pliny the Younger, *Letters IX.XIX* “... Yes now the time has come when I must undertake his defence. Everyone who has done some great and memorable deed should, I think, not only be excused but even praised if he wishes to ensure the immortality he has earned, and by the very words on his epitaph seeks to perpetuate the undying glory of his name”.
- 94 Portraits have been found in tombs scattered across the Empire. For example: in Asia Minor in Inan & Rosenbaum 1966 nos. 26–6, 276 and see now also the interesting study on funerary art in Asia Minor by Cormack 2004 especially p. 64–66 which unfortunately appeared too late to be included in the discussion, in Greece in Kilkis in Zaphiropoulou 1972, 43–52, 238–9 discussed below; in Egypt as painted mummy portraits and as stone sculpture in Borg 1998, 15–20, Thomas 2000, 3–20 and the survey by Riggs 2002; in Syria in Plough 1986, 80–91 and in Germania in Deckers & Noelke 1980, 9–10.
- 95 For Pompeii, see Bonifizio 1997. For case studies at Ostia and Cyrene, see Feijer 1999, 140.
- 96 The north necropolis of Cyrene has boasted numerous rock-cut façade tombs with niches for portrait busts from miniature to large scale, see Rosenbaum 1960, pl. II
- 97 See for example the statue bases from the necropolis in Leptis Magna in Tripolitania in Reynolds & Ward-Perkins 1952, nos. 673, 675, 680, 681 and 689. For the different form of display, see von Hesberg 1992, 204–7.
- 98 Cumont 1923.
- 99 See Huskinson 1997, 233.
- 100 See the study of funerary altars in Northern Italy, Dexheimer 1998. Now also Zanker & Ewald 2004.
- 101 Laum 1914, no. 82. See also a tomb epigram from Thyateira in which the city honours Nemerius Terentius Primus in Kearsley 2001, no. 52.
- 102 Kockel 1983, 107 and Zanker 1998, 340.
- 103 That the care of a tomb could not always be entrusted the survivors is indicated by Pliny the Younger in one of his *Letters*, VI.X.3: “I had also an urge to see his tomb, but then I was sorry I had seen it. It is still unfinished, not through any difficulty of construction (it is on a modest, even a humble scale) but because the man in charge takes no interest. I was filled with indignation and pity to think that nine years after Verginius' death his remaining ashes should still lie neglected without a name or inscription.”
- 104 *CIL XIII* 5708 also discussed p. 162.
- 105 The translation follows the one given by Hopkins 1983, 247–48. Also Champlin 1991, 173.
- An inscription from Rome *CIL VI* 1375 records that it was forbidden to deposit expensive blankets in the tomb of C. Cestius (the so-called Cestius pyramid), see Eck 1987, 64.

- 106 See above all Häusle 1980, 26 and *passim*.
- 107 Multiple portrait representations on a single monument was a common practice. The emperor often appeared on a single monument in many guises. Whole galleries with portraits of the same emperor also existed, exemplified by Maximinus Thrax in Fittschen 1977, and Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius from Aqua Traversa, see p. 422.
- 108 For the sculptural representations of Claudia Semne, see Wrede 1971. For the images of Claudia Semne in divine guises, see also Wrede 1981, 83. For the discovery of the tomb and its layout, see Bignamini & Claridge 1998.
- 109 The tomb is described by Statius, *Silvae* 5.1.231ff. Loeb edition translated by D.R. Shackleton Bailey. London & Cambridge Massachusetts 2003. See Wrede 1981, 75–76. The tomb is now identified on the Via Appia. It consists of a square podium on which is a cylinder with large exterior niches. The statues of Priscilla described by Statius may have adorned the niches.
- 110 For the Philopappus monument and the Celsus library, see above all Smith 1998, 70–75. For the bases of Celsus see also Kearsley 2001, 51–53 no. 73.
- 111 Laum 1914, no. 82. Two portraits in Brussels probably deriving from the same location in Asia Minor seem to represent the same person, see figs. 178–179. Whether these came from a funerary context is, however, unknown, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 164–65 nos. 116–17. For further examples of the same person being represented in different habits, see p. 315, fig. 171.
- 112 Schmidt-Colinet 1997, 164–65 fig. 4.
- 113 Van Bremen 1996, 189.
- 114 For the Niederingelheim statues, see Martin-Kilcher 1998, 238–9. For other examples of costumes as expressions of identity Kremer 2004 and Pochmarski 2004.
- 115 Publius Africanus, for example, was buried at his country estate by Liternum, see Giuliani 1986, 172. Much later there was a landscaped funerary garden at the villa of Herodes Atticus at Kephissia in Attika, see Galli 2002, 156f. For sarcophagi found at a seaside villa by Monteruscello and in a villa west of Puteoli, see Gilalanella 2003, 59 and 62.
- 116 Von Hesberg 1992, 5ff.
- 117 Reynolds 1996, 125.
- 118 For the early imperial tomb of C. Lusius Sorax from near Chieti, see La Regina 2001, 337 cat. 72.
- 119 Rawson & Weaver 1997, 208–11 for the changes in funerary commemoration from the Republican to the imperial period. Public services became common during the imperial period. The *Augustalis Q. Cominius Abascantus* from Misenum secured in his will that wrestling games were to be held annually at his tomb, see D'Arms 2000, 128, 136, 140.
- 120 Eck 1998, 34 and Alföldy 2001, 33–35.
- 121 For epigraphic evidence of the Marcelli tomb, see Giuliani 1986, 172. For the tomb of the Licinii, see Kragelund & Moltesen & Østergaard 2003. New evidence for the decoration and sculptural content is discussed by van Keuren 2004. For the ornamentation of the walls, see van Keuren 2004, especially 63–65.
- 122 The latest two portraits, both from the second chamber, date to the Severan period, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 783 and 799, see Kragelund & Moltesen & Østergaard 2003, 114–15 nos. 37–38.
- 123 The sculptural décor of the tomb of the Scipiones has not survived although Giuliani has associated, for example, the so-called Marius and Sulla portraits in Munich with the tomb, see Giuliani 1986, 184. See also Papini 2004, 383–86.
- 124 See Silvestrini 1987, 73–79.
- 125 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, cloistro 18 inv. 24539I2–I18 (male statue) and 21 24540I2–I16 in Giuliano 1981, 27 no. 18 (L. Nista) with dating to the late Re-

- publican period. Goette's dating to the early second century A.D. is correct, see Goette 1990, 77 and 157 no. M56.
- 126 Eck 1998, 29–40.
- 127 Zanker 1998, 344.
- 128 See however, Eck 1998 with evidence of all social classes.
- 129 Three portrait busts were found in the mid-19th century in the Vigna Clodini Columbarium II in Rome and constructed in A.D. 10 by a corporation. For a good account of the discovery and the portraits, in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 370931, 370932, 370933 see Anderson 1988, 65–81 nos. 15–18.
- 130 The commemoration of freedmen in the bust format in a *columbarium loculus* may be much more common than the three busts from Columbarium II in Vigna Clodini, suggest as the busts may have been removed over the centuries.
- 131 Kampen 1981, *passim* and her catalogue 138–60. See also Zimmer 1982.
- 132 Wrede 2001 although I am very skeptical towards his thesis because of the lack of any supportive epigraphic evidence. The problem is discussed by Ewald 2002, 563.
- 133 Borg 1996, 150–56 and Borg 1998, 40–44.
- 134 On the freedmen's reliefs see Zanker 1975, Kleiner 1977, Kockel 1993 and George 2005a.
- 135 Kockel 1993, 57.
- 136 See Kleiner 1977, 22–46.
- 137 Kockel 1993, 130–32 no. G7 and Rawson 1997, 211 with references.
- 138 For Rome, see the tables and discussion by King 2000, 123–25.
- 139 Sigismund Nielsen 1997, 200 and *passim*.
- 140 Hopkins 1983, 223–26. See also Soren & Soren 1999, 482–86.
- 141 On nursing mothers in funerary art, see Boatwright 2005, 315f. The stele of Scaevinia Procilla (fig. 71) is discussed by Kampen 1981, 95. See also the stele of a Nutrix with infant in *Musée Metz* 1992, 36 no. 154
- 142 London, British Museum inv. 2322, see Walker 1985, 42f.
- 143 Rome, Capitoline Museums NCE 172. Likewise, a marble bust of the slave boy Martialis, who was only two years, two months and six days old at the time of his death demonstrates that very young children were commemorated and mourned, see Rawson 1997, 227f with fig. 9.12.
- 144 For the epigraphical evidence, see Sigismund Nielsen 1997.
- 145 G. Lahusen in Villa Albani I, 271–74 pl.162.
- 146 Fittschen 1985, 21–23.
- 147 For children's sarcophagi, see Huskinson 1996 and Dimas 1998.
- 148 Calza 1964, 53 nos. 76–77 and Calza 1977, 83–84 nos. 110–111.
- 149 Petronius, *Satyricon* 71. Loeb edition London 1930 translated by M. Heseltine.
- 150 All in Rome Vatican Museums 1. inv. 187 Sala a Croce Greca 561 in Wrede 1981, 274–75 no. 206 (statuette of Mercury); 2. inv. 2952 store in Wrede 1981, 308 no. 293 (statuette of Venus); 3. inv. 1296 Museo Chiaramonti 721 (bust of Manilia Hellas) in Andreea 1995 pl. 220–21; 4. inv. 1298 Museo Chiaramonti 723 (bust of L. Manilius Faustus) in Andreea 1995 pl. 224–25; 5. inv. 1297 Museo Chiaramonti 722 (bust of L. Manilius Primus) in Andreea 1995 pl. 222–23; 6. inv. 1827 Museo Chiaramonti 389A in Andreea 1995 pl. 519–20 (unnamed female bust). A further male portrait belonged to the find but it is not safely identified. It may be inv. 1362 or 1552 Museo Chiaramonti 60 or 624 in Andreea 1995 pl. 199 and 208 (both Trajanic male portraits). For the find see Sattel Bernardini 1993, 142–55.
- 151 As plentifully attested in Asia Minor, see Dittmann-Schöne 2001.
- 152 See Eck 1989, 75 on C. Valerius Herma's status as freedman.
- 153 Eck, 1989, *passim*.
- 154 Mielsch & von Hesberg 1995, 144–208. See also Zanker 1995, 240–42.

- 155 The tomb of Julia Procula in Ostia boasted a herm portrait of Chrysippus, see Calza 1964, 17 no. 7.
- 156 Zaphiropoulou 1972, 43–52, 238–9 (English summary).
- 157 For the kline monument see Wrede 1977 and for the tomb epigram commemorating Claudia Semne, see Wrede 1971, 127.
- 158 Collection of the Marqueses de Mirabel, Plasencia, see Edmonson in Edmondson & Basarrate & Trillmich 2001, 139 no. 10, pl. 10. See also Wrede 1981, 199 no. 11.
- 159 This contrasts strikingly with the way in which women were commemorated in public. In public inscriptions from Italy, most women were honoured very much like their male counterparts for their benefactions or for their role in the city's religious life as priestesses, i.e. their public role, see Forbis 1990, 493–511.
- 160 *CIL VI* 37965, see Häusle 1980, 94–97 with German translation. See also Zanker 1999, 126–27 and Friggeri 2001, 168–69 with references.
- 161 For naked female portrait statues, see above all D'Ambra 2000, 101–14.
- 162 Discussed in Feijer 1997, 50–51.
- 163 Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 351 in Wrede 1981 no. 106. See also Matheson 1996, 189. See also examples from Late Roman Egypt in Thomas 2000, 60–70.
- 164 Rosenbaum 1960, 62 no. 61.
- 165 Vanderpole 2005, 16. See however below p. 336 for other interpretations in a Roman context.
- 166 See now Christopher H. Hallett's analysis of the Romans' attitude towards nudity, Hallett 2005, 61–101.
- 167 Cassius Dio 58.2.4, see Boatwright 2000, 69.
- 168 Zanker 1988, 1–22.
- 169 Discussed p. 83.
- 170 Papi 2000, 6–7, fig. 4.
- 171 Scarpellini 1987. From Salona in modern Jugoslavia and now in The Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. D 255 in *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslawien*, 119 no. 118.
- 172 D'Ambra 1995, 667–81. See also Doonan 1999, 81.
- 173 Herz 1980–81, 145–57.
- 174 R.M. Schneider in *Villa Albani IV*, 372–84 cat. 510.
- 175 Example of a bronze statuette from Augst in modern Switzerland in Winkes 1999, 92, pl. 24,1–2.
- 176 Colledge 1976, 84–87 and R.M. Schneider in *Villa Albani IV*, 372–84 cat. 510.
- 177 For tombs with proper *triclinia*, see De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 58–9, 65–68 and D'Arms 2000, 139.
- 178 *CIL VI* 17985a, see Hopkins 1983, 228.
- 179 Husband holding bust of wife in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 125829, see Giuliano 1981, 167f. no. 58; also D'Ambra 1995, 673 and D'Ambra 1998, 118 and wife holding husband in London, British Museum inv. 2335, see Smith 1904, 337; see also Walker 1985, 26 and D'Ambra 1995, 673 figs. 8–9.
- 180 Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Cloistro 36 inv. 39504, see Giuliano 1981, 162–63 no. 55.
- 181 See for example Pflug 1989, 79–81. For *loculi* covers with painted portraits from a tomb in Jordan, see Barbet & Safar Ismail 2001, 229–31, pl. 54.
- 182 See for example no. 43 in Kleiner 1987. For the iconography on North Italian altars, see Dexheimer 2000.
- 183 Sinn 1987, 65–69 for the metropolitan Roman material.
- 184 However, in Asia Minor sarcophagi were certainly also displayed in the open air and lining the street of tombs, see Spanu 2000, 170.
- 185 Most explicitly Wrede 2001. For a good overview of the literature associating specific social groups with specific narratives and/or specific types of tombs, see Reinsberg 1995, 353f.

- 186 For a convincing interpretation of the three scenes on the so-called Marshalls' sarcophagi, see Muth 2004.
- 187 Koortbojian 1995, *passim*, Zanker 2003, *passim*.
- 188 For portraiture on sarcophagi in general, see Koch 1993, 49–53 and *passim*. For portraiture on mythological sarcophagi, see Zanker 2003, 52f. and 285–88.
- 189 Huskinson 1998.
- 190 See the reconstruction in Kockel 1983 pl. 13c.
- 191 Bonifacio 1997, 64f no. 15.
- 192 The equestrian statue alone rarely featured as tomb sculpture, see Bergemann 1990, 17 and here plate 15.
- 193 The type is not believed to be that of a mourning woman, but it may nevertheless be an appropriate way of expressing sorrow, see for example Bieber 1977, 132f.
- 194 Rome, Museo Capitolino 264. For the strongly contextualized used of the seated format for women, see p. 333 and figs. 249–251.
- 195 See for example the group of Mars and Venus found on the Via Appia. A statue commemorating a certain Julia Procula in the guise of Hygieia and a bust of G. Volcacius Myrophous Ostia are of the highest quality. For the find context, see Calza 1940, 221 no. 20 and 225 no. 21.
- 196 For herms of philosophers in a tomb on the Isola Sacra, see Calza 1940, 244 no. 35. See also Mausoleum H from the necropolis under St. Peters, discussed above.
- 197 Imperial portraits from tombs of private citizens are however rare. See above p. 380 with note 39.
- 198 The bust sitting in foliage has been interpreted as a specific reference to the fact that the patron was deceased, see Jucker 1961.
- 199 Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 3.10. Translation from Leach 1990, 22. See also D'Ambra 1998, 94.
- 200 See above all Hopkins 1983, 216ff.
- 201 See p. 125 with notes 160–161 for Allia Potestas.
- 202 CIL VIII 434. Translation cited from Koortbojian 1995, 124.
- 203 CIL II 2060. The inscription is discussed by Berg 2002, 54f and 68.

Part Two: Modes of Representation

The Material of Roman Portraits

- 1 Pausanias, *Description of Greece* I.XVIII.6. Loeb edition translated by W.H.S. Jones. 1965.
- 2 Herz 1975.
- 3 For evidence of labourers being paid to carry a wooden image of the emperor, see p. 178.
- 4 Stephan 2002, 129–31 and 255. See also van Nijf 1999, 192.
- 5 Chieti, Deposito della Soprintendenza dell'Abruzzo, see Sangue e Arena 2001, 358 no. 73.
- 6 Pliny the Younger, *Letters* IV. VII.1–2. Loeb edition translated by W. Melmoth. 1961.
- 7 Dio's *Roman History*, LX, 25, 2–3.
- 8 Buckler & Robinson 1932 nos. 8 and 27, see Pekary 1978, 730–1 with notes 18–19 with references. A bilingual funerary inscription commemorating Q. Lollius Philo-taerus in Assos in Asia Minor mentions that the *demos* honoured him with a golden crown, a painted portrait and a marble statue, in Kearsley 2001, 7 no. 2. For further examples, see Pekary 1978, *infra*. Evidence for painted portraits as honorific monuments in the Hellenistic East, see Blanck 1968.
- 9 Pliny, *HN* XXXV.52.
- 10 *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto*. Loeb edition translated by C.R. Haines 1929, vol. I, 207.

- 11 Pliny, *HN* XXXV.1, however, writes of painting that “at the present it has been entirely ousted by marbles, and indeed finally also gold”.
- 12 Thomas 1998, 740 with further examples.
- 13 Maischberger 1997, 18f. Schweitzer 1948, 28–9, 35 argues that portrait painting was most widely used during the period of Sulla under the influence of Greece.
- 14 Of course one should always be careful in giving importance to materials that do not leave any traces. However, private art, such as sarcophagi continued to be produced in high quantities. Only the production of portraits (and indeed public monumental art) seems to decline.
- 15 Gregory 1994, 84 on Appian’s description.
- 16 A tradition that dates back at least to the Early Renaissance.
- 17 Herodian, Book 3.9.12.
- 18 Philostratus I.I.
- 19 Nowicka 1993, 39ff.
- 20 The gilt-bronze colossus of Nero was made by Zenodorus, *HN* XXXIV. 45.
- 21 *HN* XXXV.119; XXXV.147; XXXV.148. See also Wrede 1981, 29.
- 22 See p. 35 note 72 for signed portraits.
- 23 Borg 1996.
- 24 Borg 1996, 191ff.
- 25 Walker 1997, 4–5.
- 26 For the so-called ‘Tondo of the two brothers’ in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, see D’Ambra 1998, 199. See also Nowicka 1993, 171.
- 27 P.Oxy XII 1449.7–16 in Rowlandson 1998, 67.
- 28 De Kind 1991, 165–69.
- 29 *HN* XXXV.4.
- 30 See Bianchi Bandinelli 1969 fig. 100.
- 31 The painted shields from the atrium of the villa of Poppaea show mythical figures, see Mazzoleni & Pappalardo & Romano 2004 pl. 142.
- 32 Colledge 1976, 84–87 with previous references.
- 33 Herz 1980–81.
- 34 In that case he is heating up the metal tool over a flame and is working on a painting in encaustic technique. For that interpretation, see Blanck 1968, 4.
- 35 Skt. Petersburg, Ermitage Museum inv. II.1899.81, see Nowicka 1993, 139 fig. 52. See also Goldman 1999, 28–44. I owe this reference to Bettina Bergman.
- 36 See the evidence collected by Nowicka 1993, 129ff., figs. 39ff. See also Anderson 1987, 127–35.
- 37 Bianchi Bandinelli 1969, fig. 99.
- 38 Guiral Pelegrín 2002, 98–100 and Bendala Galán 2002, 67–70 with illustrations and bibliography. See also the paintings from the *hypogaeum* of Hairan and his wife at Palmyra and probably from A.D. 149–50 in Colledge 1976, 84 fig. 114.
- 39 See the necropoleis under the Vatican, Mausoleum H from c. 160 A.D. with representations in stucco discussed above. On marble reliefs, for example a sarcophagus in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2344 see Stubbe Østergaard 1996, 146 no. 64.
- 40 Borg 1998, 65f.
- 41 A recently discovered papyrus with what seem to be portraits of philosophers highlights the role of ancient draughtsmanship, see Gallazzi & Settim 2006.
- 42 For this definition, see Schneider 1999, 928. On identifying white marbles, see Attanasio 2003.
- 43 See Claridge 1988, 139ff., and Schneider 1999.
- 44 See Ward-Perkins 1992, Fant 1993, and Schneider 1999.
- 45 Generally, see Maischberger 1997, 17–18.

- 46 One may obtain some idea of the ratio between marble and bronze by analysing the portrait bases. Bronze statues were attached to the bases by dowel holes whereas marble statues were most commonly carved with a plinth, which was led into the base, discussed above p. 29.
- 47 See Claridge 1988, 143.
- 48 For example the Iulio-Claudian group from the temple of Augustus and Roma in Leptis Magna, see Boschung 2002, 8ff. pl. 2–3; for the Severan group from the supposed temple of the Severan family at Djemila in North Africa and the statue of Constantine from the Constantine basilica in Rome, see Hannestad 1986, 330 fig. 201.
- 49 Austin 1981, 254 line 45. I owe this reference to Lise Hannestad.
- 50 Pliny, *HN* XXXIV.15. See Lahusen 1992, 186–192.
- 51 Lahusen 1992, 191.
- 52 According to Dahmen 2001, 20 there are 22 out of a total of 36 preserved bronze portraits of emperors dating to the Iulio-Claudian period. Dahmen 2001, 72 on a majority also of bronze portraits of private people in the Iulio-Claudian period. Dahmen, however, gives no explanation for this phenomenon.
- 53 Smith 1998, 62 and Claridge 1988, 139–52.
- 54 Pliny, *HN* XXXIV.15 on the invention of gilding on bronze statues.
- 55 Zimmer 1983, 13 “überwiegend aus Bronze”.
- 56 Projects examining the polychrome of sculpture have been centred chronologically on the Archaic to Hellenistic periods whereas the Roman period still awaits more systematic studies. It has been suggested that painted statuary generally became less common during the second century due to the abundant supply of high quality marble but this theory needs further investigation, see Claridge 1988, 152 with note 48.
- See a portrait of a little girl in Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Monte Martini inv. 922 with remains of red paint in hair, in Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 45 no. 54, and an ideal head inv. 10485 with traces of gilding on cheeks.
- 57 Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Sala VIII, 8 inv. 38, see Calza 1940, 225–7 and D’Ambra 1998, 112.
- 58 SHA Lucius Verus 10.7.
- 59 For example the Copenhagen Caligula, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2687, see Stubbe Østergaard 2003 and Stubbe Østergaard 2004.
- 60 Although recent research and exhibitions in Copenhagen, Munich and Vatican have extended our knowledge of the application of paint to marble sculpture during the Roman period, the subject is still in its dawn. I find it hard to believe that the piggy pink non-translucent colour with which the skin of the head of Caligula in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2687 was apparently covered was typical in antiquity.
- 61 Musei Vaticani inv. 3390, see Liverani 2003.
- 62 Discussed above.
- 63 See Fishwick 1989, 335ff.
- 64 See for example an over life-size head of a man in Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. 2433 and portraits in relief and in the round in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo inv. 124504 and 106515.
- 65 An extreme example is the isolated hill-top sanctuary of Zeus Labraunios at modern Phasoula in Cyprus, where a large number of second- to fourth-century A.D. portrait statues, probably serving as votives, were carved from the limestone outcrop forming a natural quarry within the sanctuary itself, see Fejfer 2003, 18–19 and Fejfer 2006, 104–5.
- 66 A relief portrait of Augustus (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 1971.325) is reported to have come from Cyprus, see Boschung 1993, 125–26 no. 35 pl. 47, 1–2

and a much eroded head (Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. AM 181) apparently also comes from Cyprus, see Boschung 1993, 169, no. 149 pl. 198. Cyprus is rich in good quality dense limestone but devoid of marble, see Feijer 2006. The lower, draped part of a hip-mantle statue of Augustus from the theatre in Arles (Arles, Musée Lapidaire inv. P215) is also of limestone. A limestone portrait from Aquincum, Panonia now in Budapest w.i. is, according to Wegner 1979, 142 wrongly identified as Marcus Aurelius.

67 See Thomas 2000, 22 and 26–27.

68 These portraits may be seen in the National Museum in Damaskus. There is now a publication on sculpture from Roman Syria in the Damascus Museum, see Weber 2006. The three statues are nos. 76–78 in Weber 2006.

69 Damaskus, National Museum inv. 20392.

70 Weber 2006, 100 no. 78 pl. 59.

71 Lembke 2000, 255–64.

72 It was also used for ideal statuary.

73 *Res Gestae*, 24; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I, 14; Clauss 2001, 291–94.

74 A life-size bust of Marcus Aurelius and a miniature bust of Septimius Severus, see above all Lahusen 1999a, 251–66.

75 Discussed in Lahusen 1999a and Riccardi 2002, 86–99.

76 Oliver 1941, 93.

77 Herz 1980–1, 149.

78 Rieger 2004, 143–46, 290ff.

79 See a female bust in Strasbourg Archaeological Museum.

80 See p. 57.

81 Lahusen 1999, 102 and *passim* with references and previous discussions on gold and gilded portraits.

82 Lahusen 1999a, 259.

83 On Caesar's statue in ivory mentioned by Cassius Dio 43,45,2, see Sehlmeyer 1999, 227f. See also Lapatin 2001, 124–26.

84 Generally, see De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002. Prices in Diocletian's Price Edict, see Lauffer 1971.

85 Above all Schneider 1986 and Schneider 2002. For a glossary of ancient and modern terms for coloured marbles, see Bugini, Folli & Ferrario 2002, 177–81.

86 There is also a portrait of Hadrian in greywache in Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. Sk 358, see De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 326–27 no. 24.

87 Belli Pasqua 1995, 65ff.; Vermeule 2003, 235–50.

88 An Antonine male portrait and two Antonine female portraits, see Anderson & Giuliano & Nista 1989, 38 with notes 52–53.

89 Nista 1989, 35–46.

90 See in particular Borg & Witschel 2001, 108–9.

91 1. miniature male bust in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 65190, see De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 351–52 no. 54; 2. Life-size female bust with alterations done to the head (reworked from an ideal type of head?) in Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. 404, see De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 343–44 no. 45; 3. miniature bust from Appartment II in Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos in the Selcuk Museum inv. 2177, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 178 no. 139 and Krinzinger 2002, 140; 4. life-size bust cut for separately inserted head from Chiragan, Toulouse Museum inv. 30159, see De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 344–46 no. 48.

92 Selcuk Museum inv. 2395, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 181 no. 143 and here plate 21a.

93 So the drunken faun in Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. 657, see Charles-Gaffiot & Lavagne 1999, 221ff. no. 68.

94 Anderson & Giuliano & Nista 1989, 95.

- 95 Newby 2002, 74–75. The carving of the edges of the busts may not be ancient and their original format, whether busts or statues, remains uncertain. It has also been suggested that drapery, probably in contrasting marble, was attached to the figures, see Ensoli 1999, 79–83 and Charles-Gaffiot & Lavagne 1999, 240 no. 80.
- 96 Bruno & Pallante 2002, 163–76.
- 97 Schneider 1986, 213ff, pl. 41–5.
- 98 London, Sir John Soanes Museum, see Anderson & Giuliano & Nista 1989, 16.
- 99 Toulouse Museum inv. 30132, see De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 327–28 no. 25.
- 100 See the example from Salamis in the Cyprus Museum without inv. in Karageorghis 1964, nos. 15, 17 and 38 described as being of grey marble. Whether they are of nero antico or of a similar dark stone such as a dark limestone, is not certain. See also Fejfer 2006, 84–86.
- 101 An exception of the combination of a black marble body with a white marble head is the flamboyant statue of an Aura in bigio morato from the theatre at Sessa Aurunca, perhaps depicting Matidia. The head seems to be rather big for the statue but matches the break of the neck?, see De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 325–26 no. 23 and neck Plate 23.
- 102 Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. 469, see Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 83 no. 113. Fittschen expresses doubt about the authenticity of the wig.
- 103 For alabaster, see the evidence collected by Fittschen in Fittschen & Zanker 1985, 57 no. 53 note 2. See also Anderson & Giuliano & Nista 1989, 53 and for an Antonine miniature portrait bust of a woman in alabaster in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 811, see Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek III, 218 no. 97.
- 104 See the evidence collected by Fittschen in Fittschen & Zanker 1985, 97 no. 83 note 18. For wigs see also Gazda 1977, 26f. no. 9 and Schneider 1986, 159 with note 1189.
- 105 The authenticity of some of these wigs has been questioned mainly because they often fit very badly on the head, a flaw, which however would probably have been disguised by plaster.
- 106 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano inv. 115164, see Bergemann 1990, 49, 110–11 cat. P53.
- 107 For example a head of Ptolemy, see Smith 1988, 170 no. 75.
- 108 For a statue of Augustus in Cairo Museum inv. C.G.701, see Strocka 1980, 177ff, pl. 60. See also Anderson & Giuliano & Nista 1989 with further references. The granite was not solely reserved for the emperor as there are a few heads of private individuals in that material too.
- 109 For imperial portraits in miniature, see generally Schneider 1976 and Dahmen 2001.
- 110 The basic work is Künzl 1996. See also Boschung 1999, Dahmen 2001, 54 and Sträcker 2003, 153–291. For glass *phalerae*, see also Boschung 1987. See also here p. 403 for the emperor's image in the army.
- 111 See for example Maderna-Lauter 1988.
- 112 Bergmann 1998, 219f.
- 113 Maderna-Lauter 1988, 443.
- 114 D'Ambra 1998, 149 with reference to Cicero.
- 115 For a portrait of a man painted in miniature on a glass disc from Pompeii in Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli inv. 132424, see De Caro 1996, 269. I have come across no argument to suggest that the mounting is modern.
- 116 See note 114.
- 117 Nowicka 1993, 135. See also Pillinger 1984.
- 118 See for example *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslavien*, 123ff. nos. 123–7.
- 119 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo inv. 262725 from a sarcophagus found at Tivoli. For hairpins, see Ward-Perkins & Claridge 1976, cat. 71.

- 120 Malte Johansen 1994.
- 121 Ronke 1987, 198–220; Borg & Witschel 2001, 94.
- 122 Ovid did so every morning, see Gradel 2002, 202–03 with note 14.
- 123 A set of three ivory portraits may have adorned a room interpreted as a *triclinium*, room SR28 in the so-called Hanghaus 2 in Ephesus, see David 2003, 74–75.
- 124 A head of Trajan found in a tomb, see Jucker 1984, 55. For rock crystal in general see, Vickers 1996, 48–65.
- 125 Head of a Hadrianic empress? in Florence, Museo Archeologico di Firenze inv. 14547, see Gaffiot & Lavagne 1999, 260 no. 99.
- 126 See a miniature faience head of a Trajanic woman, possibly Domitia in Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen inv. H1445, see Fejfer & Melander 2003, 102–3 no. H1445 with further references. Also here fig. 100.
- 127 A miniature head of Tiberius in London, British Museum inv. Gems 2945, see Walker & Burnett 1981, 22b.
- 128 Found in Plotinopolis and now in Komotini Museum without inv., see Lahusen 1999a, pl. II,2.
- 129 A third-century silver portrait head in miniature was found in Denmark.
- 130 Hannestad 1982, 53–65.
- 131 A technique described by Pliny, *HN* XXXV.149, see Borg 1996, 5ff.
- 132 Evidence in Flower 1996, 280ff.
- 133 Only the masks of Cato the Elder, and that of Scipio Africanus are reputed to have been kept in a public place, Cato's in the Senate and Scipio's in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. For a discussion of the authenticity of these honours, see Sehlmeyer 1999, 47f. notes 18f.
- 134 For further references to wax, see Flower 1996, 33 with note 2.
- 135 Statius, *Silvae* V. I.1 The tomb is discussed briefly above p. 108.
- 136 Appian, *BC* 2.147, see Gregory 1994, 94.
- 137 Liebeschutz 1979, 74.
- 138 For the wooden? busts from Casa del Menandro, see Clarke 1991, 7; Flower 43 and plate 2; Doonan 1999, 82. See also below note 160 for further wooden bases.
- 139 Drerup 1980, 93 and pl. 49.1. See also Potter 1994, 128 and Flower 1996, 6–7.
- 140 National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool Museum inv. 49.18.53. Previously in the Collection of Prof. Arthur Bernard Cook, Cambridge. Liverpool Museum purchased the whole collection in 1949 and a number of objects have since been recognized as forgeries.
- 141 MacCormack 1981, 67–73.
- 142 As stucco composed with lime and gesso with gypsum are impossible to distinguish from each other without chemical analysis I use the term plaster.
- 143 From Mausoleum H in the necropoleis under the Vatican, see Mielsch & von Hesberg 1995, figs. 245–51.
- 144 Espérandieu III, 36 no. 1786.
- 145 For the Hama busts from tomb GXXIX, see Plough 1986, 91 with figs. 32a–b.
- 146 They may have been cast from clay portrait models in a technique similar to that used for Egyptian cartonnage mummy portraits and not from death masks. Heavily drilled eyes are not restricted to plaster portraits but are also known also from lime stone portraits, for example from Aquileia, see Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, fig. 107.
- 147 There is a tondo portrait in plaster in the National Museum in Damascus.
- 148 Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3454, see Kersauson 1996, 188 no. 80. Also a head found in a house, see Knossos in Michaud 1972, 800 fig. 482.
- 149 Strocka 1967, 118–36.
- 150 See the large-scale terracotta pedimental sculptures from Via di San Gregorio, which date to the second century B.C., see Ferrea 2002, 150, pl. VI.

- 151 On the question of likeness in Etruscan art, see Prayon 1999, 85–90.
- 152 Hofter 1985, 102ff. and Hofter 1988, 334f. See now Papini 2004, 247–80.
- 153 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, see Kleiner 1992, fig. 15.
- 154 See the life-size terracotta statues reflecting classical Greek models and found in the Domus Tiberiana on the Palatine (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano Palazzo Massimo inv. 1980). For terracotta as artists models in the Roman period, see Leander Touati 2002.
- 155 Vermeule 1965, 361ff.
- 156 Benz 1992, pl. 65f.
- 157 For example a lamp with a portrait of Julia Domna? in the Kestner-Museum in Hannover inv. 1072, see Młasowsky 1993, 281 cat. 290.
- 158 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 21338.
- 159 For a terracotta phiale found at Salzburg, Austria, see Hannestad, 1982, 44 and 59.
- 160 Alzinger 1999, 390 pl. 63,1.
- 161 For the early periods in the East, see Buchholz 2004, 135–50.
- 162 *Apologia*.
- 163 Herz 1980–81, 155–6.
- 164 BGU II 362 and referred to by Rowlandson, 44–45.
- 165 Now in Herculaneum, L'Antiquarium di Hercolano, inv. 75598, see Ascione & Pagano 2000, 112. no. 62. See also Flower 1996, 43 with note 65 and Ward-Perkins & Claridge 1978, 76–77.
- 166 The sarcophagus which is displayed in Hama Museum is still unpublished and the reconstruction of the panels as a sarcophagus is not absolutely certain and it is also questionable whether all the panels derive from the same object.
- 167 Deyts 1983, and Green 1999.
- 168 Nowicka 1993, 75–105. For galleries of *literati* generally in the Roman period, see Lorenz 1965.
- 169 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 124666, see Ward-Perkins & Claridge 1978, no. 72. See also Donderer 1983, 127.
- 170 For example a mosaic from Tipasa, see Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, fig. 219.
- 171 Hama Museum, see Dunbabin 1999, 170f figs. 178–80.

Statuary Body Types of Roman Men: All About Status?

- 1 By ‘colossal size’ more than double life-size is meant. There are multiple examples of private individuals being represented in over life-size statues, see Kreikenbom 1992, 251–59 and Sträcker 2003, 274–75.
- 2 Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 115.17, D.R. Shackleton Bailey Loeb Edition 1999, vol. II 122–23 on a statue with a wrong inscription and Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodian Oration* 31.156 on statues, which behave like actors. Discussion in Tuchelt 1979, 104 and Daut 1975, 49f, 54 with note 104.
- 3 There are no examples of bossomed women in statuary but a few nude male busts and statues depict an aging breast, as fig. 106.
- 4 For the costume of a *signifer*, see Bol 1999. For the *camillus*, see generally Fless 1995; for the *auriga* from a funerary context in Carthage, see Veyne & Beschaouch & Ennabli 1995. The costumes of athletes were discussed above.
- 5 *Togam pro pace*, Cicero, *De Oratore* 3. 167, Loeb Edition translated by E.W. Sutton & H. Rackham. London 1948, 132–33.
- 6 See Brilliant 1963, 69 on the gestures of togate statues and 60–70 in general on representations of Roman men in statuary.

- 7 Few togati employ a tree or palm-tree trunk as support, see Muthmann 1951, 110–20. A set of writing tablets supports a second century A.D. toga statue in Aphrodisias, without inv. in Smith 2002, 135 pl. 31,2. For the development of the use of writing tablets in the Roman world, see Meyer 2004, 125–68.
- 8 Friggeri 2004, 138. The inscription CONSTITUTIONES CORPORIS MUNIMENTA is *CIL VI*, 29814. See also Goette 1990, 143 no. Cb2.
- 9 The book scroll is almost always lost on the high quality vividly-carved statues, because they break off from the block of marble. Often, however, they are preserved in reliefs and on simpler togati, when they are only slightly loosened from the block of limestone or marble. Roman bookscrolls were between 25–33cm high and according to Pliny the Younger, the longer the better; see Johnson 2004, 141–51 with note 72. For the use of the book scroll, see Raeck 2000, 160 with note 35.
- 10 For the toga already supposed to have been worn by the Etruscan kings, see Hölscher 1978, 315–51 and Goette 1990, 2–3. For origin, development and practical draping, see Stone 2001, 13–45. Filges 2000, 95–109 on the Roman interpretation of specific Greek statuary types.
- 11 Scholars have confused the early toga and the Greek himation. Fundamental for the typology is Goette 1990. See also the review by Wrede 1995.
- 12 Whether citizens who did not belong to any of the two classes also wore a *clavus*, perhaps in a different colour is uncertain, see Witschel 1995, 338 with note 154.
- 13 Senatorial boots were also worn by the *decuriones* in municipal towns, see Bergemann 1990, 23 with references.
- 14 See Havé-Nikolaus 1998, 14–16.
- 15 Variations are found even within the same workshop as proven by the five toga statues in Merida from Gaius Aulus' workshop, see below.
- 16 Claridge 1988, 149–50 on the availability of good quality marble and the demand for larger blocks of marble for second century A.D. togati.
- 17 Wrede 1995, 544.
- 18 Stone 2001, 25ff.
- 19 Borg & Witschel 2001, 107 with previous literature.
- 20 Wegner 1976, 116.
- 21 For the Augustan figures, see Brunt 1971, 113–20. For the mid-second century A.D. figures, see Frier 2000, 811–14; see also Borg & Witschel 2001, 107–8, and Liebeschuetz 2001, 342–50.
- 22 Goette 1990, 59.
- 23 When worn on sarcophagi it is usually assumed that the patron is a senator with a high office. The inscription on a mid-third century A.D. funerary relief from Augusta Emerita in Spain with a representation of the upper part of a man in contabulated toga, informs the viewer that the patron, Lucius Antestius Persicus, is a local *duovir*, see Nogales Basarrate 1997, 88–90 cat. 58. For a sarcophagus lid from Ostia see below fig. 175. Also from Ostia is an Antonine grave relief with a married couple and young child. Both the father who is *liberalis*, and the son, are in the early version of the banded toga, Rome, Vatican Museums, Coll Lateranense inv. 10717, see Calza 1964, 85 cat. 135.
- 24 For a thorough discussion of the sarcophagus, see Reinsberg 2006, 142–44, 203 and *passim*. See also Borg 2004, 169.
- 25 Tripoli Museum, for example, see Goette 1990, pl. 38.
- 26 For its distribution, see Smith 1999, 160. For the togatus fig. 120, see Cima 1996, 125–30.
- 27 Smith 1999, 178–81. Priests, proconsuls and governors wore it, see Feissel 1998 and Horster 1998.

- 28 The statue identified as the Prefectus Annonae Ragonius Vicentius Celsus is discussed in Valeri 2002, 226–27 and Goette 1990, 140, Bb 182.
- 29 Havé-Nicolaus 1998, 21.
- 30 In general not many portrait bodies have been preserved from Roman Cyprus but both the cuirassed and the heroic nude statues are extant, see Feijer 2006.
- 31 Smith 1998, 65–70.
- 32 Smith 1998, 65f. and Filges 2000, 96–97.
- 33 Hallett 1998, 62–69.
- 34 Borg 1996, 161–67.
- 35 So for example L. Claudius Diogenes Dometeinus in Aphrodisias, see Smith 1998, pl. 6.
- 36 For example Cyrene Museum C 17024, see Filges 2000 pl. 19,2. Filges, 2000, 102–3 argues that the type had already appeared in fourth century B.C. Greece and that it was ‘rediscovered’ centuries later. Even if the type did originate that early it does not alter my argument that its popularity was due to its resemblance to the draping of the toga.
- 37 See for example a togatus in Sabratha originally representing Domitian, in Goette 1990, 128 Ba 314, pl. 12,3.
- 38 Havé-Nicolaus 1998, 15–19 with plates 4,1, 5, 6,1.
- 39 The list is discussed in Leguilloux 2004, 97.
- 40 On mainland Greece, however, the togate figure is well represented in both the Trajanic and Hadrianic period; but the numbers are very small. Large group monuments such as the *nymphaeum* of Herodes Atticus in Olympia may distort the picture.
- 41 Stone 2001, 24, referring to the different draping of the toga on the reliefs of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum as well as on the panels from a triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius.
- 42 See Smith 1998, 65.
- 43 Statues of Greek men of letters were found in the ‘Grande Peristyle’ in the Papyrus villa by Herculaneum, together with a statue of a Roman in sandals and himation, see Zanker 1987, 40 fig. 24.
- 44 Two (headless) *palliatedi* derive from the so-called Sede degli Augustali in Ostia, Bollmann 1998, 338 in Ostia Museum inv. 1144 and 1147. 1144 is illustrated in Calza 1964, 104 cat. 175, pl. 101
- 45 Ewald 1999.
- 46 Basic is Hallett 1993 and Hallett 2005. See also Maderna 1988.
- 47 According to Cassius Dio Livia is reported to have said when she saw naked men “to chaste women such men are no whit different from statues”. Dio’s *Roman History*, 58.2.4 Loeb edition translated by E Cary. London & New York 1924.
- 48 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXIV.18. Loeb edition translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London 1968.
- 49 Strubbe 2004, 328–30.
- 50 Delos Museum A 4340. Preserved height 2.42m. For the context, see Queyrel 1991, 389–464.
- 51 Zanker 1983, 256.
- 52 See Smith 1981, 27.
- 53 Maderna 1988 argues that in general the person portrayed was probably assimilated with a particular deity. Hallett 1993 is sceptical of this idea.
- 54 Marvin 1997, 23.
- 55 Zanker 1987, 15–21. See also Stevenson 1998, 45–69 who discusses Zanker’s and others’ theories on the nude honorific statue.
- 56 Sehlmeyer 1999, 255–60.
- 57 Stemmer 1978, 142. See also Zanker 1983, 258–59.

- 58 Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2001, 156–58. For the alterations of the inscription on the statue, see Block 1955, 209–19.
- 59 Another statue in that pose and with the head preserved was found in the theatre at Casinum and is now in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 149906, see Hallett 2005, 115–17.
- 60 In the guise of Diomedes, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6102, see Pappalardo 1997, 417–21, pl. 60 on the identification of this statue with Balbus' statue in the theatre.
- 61 Maderna 1988 205ff., nos. D12–D13, D17–18, D28.
- 62 Eck 1972, 470 note 1. *Statua loricata* may also be a term used for the cuirassed statue as suggested by Eck, but in at least one inscription it seems to define a statue different from *statua armata*, *CIL VI*, 41141.
- 63 Stemmer 1978, 136ff.; Smith 1988, 32–33.
- 64 Dio's, *Roman History* 79.3. See Hales 2005, 134.
- 65 Riccardi 2002, 86–99.
- 66 The central discussion of the type with two rows of pteryges is Stemmer 1978. C.C.C. Vermeule included both types, Vermeule 1959, 1964, 1966, 1974, 1978 and 1980. Also generally, see Gergel 2001.
- 67 The same motif is on Titus' coins of Rome, see Kent & Overbeck & von Styloc 1973, 107–8 no. 240 pl. VII.
- 68 Gergel 2001, 194ff.
- 69 For the breast motifs found on the classical type cuirassed statues, see Stemmer 1978, 152–62.
- 70 Smith 1999, 176–78, 182.
- 71 Tuchelt 1979, 96.
- 72 Sehlmeyer 1999, 91–96 and 230. Antonius and Octavian are also seen in cuirass on the reverse of coins.
- 73 On Holconius Rufus' career, see D'Arms 1988, 51–68.
- 74 Stemmer 1978, 148 with notes 577–78. M. Nonius Balbus was also a military tribune.
- 75 M. Holconius Rufus, for example, was designated *tribunus militum a populo*, a title which was perhaps more honorary than real, D'Arms 1988, 56. For offices held on an honorary basis, see Horster 2004, 331–55.
- 76 See the new edition of these inscriptions by S. Panciera & A. Alföldy in *CIL VI* (2000) 4948ff. The statues are also discussed below.
- 77 For interpretation of the Augustus Prima Porta statue, see Corbeill 2004, 123.
- 78 Bonifacio 1997, nos. 15–17.
- 79 Statues of Greek men of letters were found in the “Grande Peristyle” in the Papyrus villa by Herculaneum, together with the statue of a Roman in sandals and himation, discussed p. 100 fig. 62.
- 80 Two (headless) *palliati* derive from the so-called Collegio degli Augustali in Ostia, see Bollmann 1998, 338 Ostia Museum inv. 1147 and 1111. According to Bieber 1959, 404 fig. 48–49 two further *palliati* were found in Ostia, one in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, Ostia Museum inv. 1208 and another one in a niche on the forum inv. 1233. The statue now displayed in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, wears however not the Greek *pallium* but the early Roman toga.
- 81 Smith 2001, 134 on the continued use of the traditional toga into the third century on sarcophagi and Smith 2001, 135 with note 40 on reused toga bodies for late antique emperor statues. See also Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 297–98 cat. 186 for a mid-first century A.D. toga with third century portrait head in Granada, Museo Arqueológico Provincial inv. II.200.
- 82 Nine copies of a portrait type representing Herodes Atticus are known but they are not well documented epigraphically, see Smith 1998, 78–79.

- 83 Find records of the two marble equestrian statues and fragments of a bronze equestrian statue, all associated with inscriptions, are very confusing. There is now consensus that the statues were neither found in the theatre nor in the so-called basilica (now interpreted as a multifunctional public square) however. Rather, it is suggested that the excavations of 1745 which were conducted outside the theatre, were most probably in the area where the (still unexcavated) forum was located, see Allroggen-Bedel 1983, 139–57.
- 84 The original head was destroyed during the revolution in Naples in 1799 and the present one is a copy of the lost head, see Zanker 1983, 262 note 65. The head is quite close to the original as evidenced from copies of the original in biscuit porcelain, see Adamo Muscettola 1982, 2–16.
- 85 6104 with the modern head is associated with base *CIL X* 1426 M NONIO MF BALBO PR PROCOS HERCULANENSES. This may be earlier than 6211 because the inscription does not mention the *patronus* title.
- 6211 is associated with *CIL X* 1429 M NONIO MF BALBO PROCOS NUCHERINI MUNICIPES SUI.
- 86 The fragments of the bronze statue (now lost) are associated with *CIL X* 1430, Pappalardo 1997, 422 note 16.
- 87 Najbjerg 2002 151–53. For the discovery of the statues, see Allroggen-Bedel 1974, 97–109.
- 88 It has also been suggested that the statue represents Balbus' father, and that Balbus should be identified in inv. 6246; but this togatus is restored with an alien? head and it does not have the well-preserved hands.
- 89 Zanker 1983, 262 and supported by Goette on the basis of the different type of footwear, see Goette 1988, 461.
- 90 A similar family group perhaps representing the important senatorial family of the Vicirii and found in an apsidal structure behind the forum of Rosellae, probably shows no less than three generations. Liverani 1994, 166 even reconstructs four generations. The sculptures and inscriptions which are all in Grosseto, Museo Archeologico are published by P. Bocci Pacini and S. Panciera in *Statue e Ritratti* 1990, 23–69. It is doubtful whether the inscriptions, bodies and heads from the structure have been correctly joined. For example, one head inv. R 102125 usually identified as a Domitianic private portrait for example by Boschung 2002, 76 and illustrated in *Statue e Ritratti* 1990 pl. 10–11, is most likely a portrait of Nerva recut from a portrait of Domitian which had already been recut from a portrait of Nero, a process which is known also in a portrait from Veleia, Parma, Museo Archeologico inv. 1870, 146 and 1952, 827, see Boschung 2002 26, pl. 21. It is suggested that the seated statue in heroic nudity in the pose of Jupiter inv. R 102127, see *Statue e Ritratti* 1990, pl. 12–13 and Liverani 1994, 162 belongs with the lower part of a seated statue also found in the complex inv. R 75580, see *Statue e Ritratti* 1990, pl. 20–21 and Liverani 1994 pl. 64 was most likely made for an emperor but recut (contrary Liverani 1994, 162). Whether it was later mounted on the low and coarsely carved travertine base inscribed Valerianus Frater remains uncertain. The toga statue of Bassus inv. R 75539, see *Statue e Ritratti* 1990, pl. 16–17 is restored with a Flavian head inv. R 102133, see *Statue e Ritratti* 1990, pl. 8–9 but there seems to be no proof that the head which is carved for insertion belongs to the inscribed statue of Bassus. The head is possibly a portrait of Vespasian (also recut?). In short, perhaps this structure contained a mix of private and imperial portraits just like the basilica in Herculaneum.
- 91 The nose is damaged as on a stone sculpture, see Pappalardo 1997, 420f.
- 92 As the portrait does not show striking resemblance to any of the other portraits of Balbus (*contra* Pappalardo 1997, 421) the identification rests on the inscription. Further investigation into the 18th century documentation is needed.

- 93 Pappalardo 1997, 423.
- 94 Zanker 1983, 261.
- 95 Even when parts of Herculaneum remain unexcavated it is significant that Balbus is the only senator known to have been honoured in the city during the imperial period, see Salomies 2001, 156.
- 96 Head gear in the form of different types of wreaths and crowns were worn by priests but specific body types such as the charioteer or the *signifer*, standard carrier from Massicault in Tunisia in Tunis, Musée du Bardo inv. 3047, see Bol 1999, are rare as full size statues.
- 97 Wrede 1981.
- 98 Discussed in Fejfer 1997, 50 under cat. 20.

Abbreviated Formats

- 1 Cicero, *Atticus* 34, 36, 39, 40 discussed by Motz 1995, 32. A bronze herm of Dionysos was found in the Mahdia wreck. This vessel is believed to have been *en route* from Greece to Rome when it sank off the east coast of Tunesia in the early first century B.C. It carried architectural and decorative furnishings, see Mattusch 1994, 431–50 and Hellenkemper Salies 1994, *passim*. See also a relief in Rome, Vatican Museums, Galleria Chiaramonti 550, showing herms with heads of traditional deities in a garden setting and discussed in Zanker 1995, 195.
- 2 Stähli 1992, 148 for possible representations of Hellenistic kings in the herm format.
- 3 Wrede 1986, 71–77; Motz 1995, 20–28.
- 4 So also Wrede 1985, 73–74.
- 5 But there are no rules without exceptions. An Augustan? female bust has been convincingly interpreted by Fittschen as carved for insertion into a herm shaft. It was found in a small room in the sanctuary of Hera in Pergamon, see Fittschen 2001a. See also, for example, a late second century herm of the *hierophantes* M. Marios Trophimos costumed as Bacchus and with separately inserted head?, found on Melos. An *hierophantes* was the highest priest in the Mysteria, the Attic version of the Eleusian Mysteries, Athens National Museum inv. Kavv. 329 (head only?), see Wrede 1981, 260–61 cat. 173.
- 6 For the herm in Thessaloniki illustrated here in fig. 149, see Dispinis & Stephanidou-Tiberiou & Voutyras 2003, 187–88 cat. 290.
- 7 Epigraphic evidence analysed by Wrede 1986, 73. See also Galli 2002, 166–68.
- 8 Smith 1998, 79–81 and Krumeich 2004 with bibliography.
- 9 Galli 2002, 166–68. For a commemoration of Polydeukion as hero in the herm format, see Goette 2001, 421 fig. 3.
- 10 Zanker 1995, 190–251; Smith 1998, 78–82 and Borg 2004.
- 11 With the herms to which they were originally attached: a herm inscribed L. Cornelius Rufus from Casa di C. Cornelio Rufo, see Bonifacio 1997, 86 no. 32 (discussed above); a herm of Vesonius Primus from Casa di Orfeo, see Bonifacio 1997, 90–92 no. 35; a herm inscribed L. Caecilius Felix from Casa del L. Caecilius Iucundus (also discussed above) in Pompeii, see Bonifacio 1997, 90–92 no. 36. See also Dwyer 1982, 127, figs. 123–24 and figs. 127–28 for bronze portraits, which may have been inserted into wooden herms from Casa del Citaristica. From tombs the evidence is ambiguous: Boschung mentions that the older generation of the portraits from the Licinian tomb may have been represented either in the herm format or as busts in niches where they were not visible from behind, see Boschung 1986, 286–87. Motz on the other hand dismisses the portraits as deriving from the same context and interprets some as free-standing busts, Motz 1995, 92–93, 66–79. See also Wrede 1985, 75. New evidence on the architectural decoration of the Licin-

- ian tomb suggests that the portraits were displayed in niches in the walls, see van Keuren 2004, especially 63–65.
- 12 The bronze busts deriving from the basilica in Pompeii are restored on modern herms, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 5584 and 9, see Bonifacio 1997, 39–41 nos. 4–5, pl.5–6.
 - 13 In fact there are two herms: but their inscriptions are identical and both are from Pompeii honouring the actor Sorex, see Granino Cecere 1988/89 and p. 230.
 - 14 A substantial number of inscribed portrait herms (all bronze heads are missing) have been found in Spain, see Portillo & Oliva & Stylov 1985.
 - 15 Motz 1995, argues against this (88–89 and, *passim*), but his objections are based on ambiguous technical observations on the back side of busts and not on portraits which are proven to have been mounted on herms. However, some of the busts from the Licinian tomb have an underside which resembles the rear side of portraits from Nemi preserved with the herms with which they originally belonged, especially the portrait of a young Claudian woman who was probably a member of the Calpurnii Pisones or Licinii Crassi clans, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 754 in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I, 176–77 no. 76, see also Kragelund & Moltesen & Østergaard 2003, 85, 114 no. 32. Boschung 1986, 268–70 believes that this bust was recut from a statue.
 - 16 De Franciscis 1980, 115–17 and generally on the statuary collection Bergmann 2002, 93. Three small-scale portrait herms commemorating the famous Republican aristocrats Cato the Younger, Quintus Hortensius and Licinius Crassus all date to the third century A.D. or later. They probably functioned as decorative posts in a garden fence of *homines illustri*. For the Cato herm, Liverpool Museum inv. Ince 112, see Feijer 1997, 23–24 no. 1. For the Hortensius herm Rome, Villa Albani inv. 953, see M. Bergmann in *Villa Albani I*, 218–20, no. 71. Geza Alföldy dates the headless herm of L. Licinius Crassus to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., see *CIL VI.8.3* 41026.
 - 17 Wrede 1986, 76. Against that Motz 1995, 32–34 with notes 98–99, who believes the earliest are Augustan. The earliest supposed herm bust is, however, dated by Motz to 30 B.C.
 - 18 Motz 1995, 61–62, 138, and *passim*.
 - 19 Motz 1995, 63–63.
 - 20 Also Fittschen 2001a on the Staia Quinta herm and herms in general.
 - 21 A number of portraits from Augusta Emerita may have been intended for herms, see Nogalea Basarrate 1997, nos. 4,, 5, 6, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24.
 - 22 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. Nos. 1443, 1444, 1445, see Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I nos. 33, 36, 45.
 - 23 For the Octavia coin type, see Sydenham 1952, 193 no. 1200 pl. 29. Discussions of the funerary reliefs and for several examples, see Kockel 1993, 59–61.
 - 24 Winkes 1999, 91 citing an unpublished work by H. von Heintze.
 - 25 For example Neumann 1990, 230–38.
 - 26 Flower 1996, 75–77.
 - 27 Winkes 1969, 16ff. Pliny the Elder, *HN XXXV*, 4–14 discusses the use of the *imago clipeata*.
 - 28 The large shield-shaped tondi with half figures of Roman men in toga from the forum of Cumae were discussed p. 83. For the *clipeus* in funerary context, see p. 128ff.
 - 29 Délos XVI, 13–42 with all the finds from the building.
 - 30 Marcadé 1969, 138–39.
 - 31 See p. 129.
 - 32 Representations of Antonine emperors on shields carried by Atlantes, see p. 167.
 - 33 For the so-called Palestrina bust type, see Romanelli 1967, 92 and Kilmer 1977, 201–17. For the female half-busts from Cyrene, see Beschi 1996, 439.

- 34 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 39475, see Kockel 1993, 91–92 no. A10 pl. 6.c.
- 35 Brussels, Musées Royaux inv. A2130, see Kockel 1993, 200–01, no. M4 pl. 116.
- 36 Rome, Capitoline Museums inv. 1120, see von den Hoff 2005. The Hercules Commodus, however, is hollowed out at the back and represents a border case between a half-figure and a freestanding bust. A magnificent well preserved Late Severan half-figure bust of a draped man is in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, inv. A 51, D. see Boschung in Boschung & von Hesberg & Linfert 1997, 58–60 no. 52 with note 6 with references to other fully sculpted half figures. See also Wegner 1976, 122–28. Here fig. 164.
- 37 For the bust format see for example; Jucker 1961; Wegner 1976; Freyer-Schauenburg 1980; Goette 1984, 89–104; Cain 1993, 13–29; Motz 1995; Fittschen 2001.
- 38 Fejfer 1997, 54–55 no. 25 on a Trajanic/Early Hadrianic male bust referred to in the inscription as *imago*. For the use of the term *imago* in the imperial period for any type of portrait, see Lahusen 2003, 49.
- 39 In rare cases the bust support is cut free of the breast, see examples in Goette 1984, 96–97.
- 40 Again there are no rules without exceptions: the *tabula* inscribed in the Greek, G Volcaci Myropnous, is distinct from both bust and foot between which it is inserted as a separate piece. From tomb 6 on the Isola Sacra, Ostia, Ostia Museum inv. 38, see Calza 1977, 33–34 no. 36 pl. 28. There is also a bust-foot (the bust is missing) with the *tabula* cut in one piece with the foot commemorating Geta, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Collezione Epigrafico w.i., discussed p. 379.
- 41 The most elaborate name-plates show a boar hunt, on an Antonine male bust in Castle Howard, see Fittschen 1999, 90 pl. 162 and a headless bust in Istanbul Museum in Freyer-Schauenburg 1980, 119 pl. 41.2. On a Severan *paludamentum* bust (restored with alien head) the name-plate is replaced by an eagle, Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 185_E, see Schröder 1993, 224 no. 61.
- 42 See for example Kent & Overbeck & Styloc 1973, pl. III no. 109 and Sydenham 1952, 193 no. 1200 pl. 29.
- 43 Discussion of the theories on the origin of the freestanding bust, see Motz 1995, 4–12.
- 44 Delos Museum inv. A 7258 and A 7259 in Marcadé 1996, 218. The Delian busts relate more to Italian late Republican terracotta and limestone busts from Capua and Ancona for example. See Schweitzer 1948, 30–33.
- 45 Motz 1995, 4–12. Add to Motz 1995, 4–12 also Classical period head-topped stelai from Selinunte in Vonderstein 2006, 203 figs. 62–65.
- 46 G. & T. Spyropoulos 2003, *passim*, on busts found in the villa. Also Galli 2002, 164–68 on the many busts found in the villa.
- 47 A list of sculptures found in different parts of the villa is available in Spyropoulos 2001, 22–30. See G. & T. Spyropoulos 2003, 469 fig. 12 on statues of Regilla and Antinous found in the Heroon of Antinous.
- 48 Compare Gros 1940, pl.43.u with 15b. On the sculpted type, see Zanker 1980 and Zanker in Fittschen & Zanker 1985, no. 42. The exact date of this type, believed to have been conceived to celebrate Trajan's decennial jubilee, is irrelevant here, but see the discussion p. 415.
- 49 From Syria and Cyprus only isolated examples are known, see Zouhdi 1976 and Fischer 1998 no. 186 and Fejfer 2005, 122. In contrast numerous busts are known from Asia Minor, Athens, North Africa and Gaul. Klaus Fittschen, for example, attributes 26 busts to one early second-century Attic workshop, see Fittschen 2001, 74–75 for the list. Only 12 of these possibly derive from Attica and of the 12 five are from the properties of Herodes Atticus while a sixth bust represents Polydeukion and a seventh Herodes Atticus. The elegant profiled cylindrical foot, which ap-

- peared in the early second century A.D. and apparently became the preferred type of foot in Rome (most bust-feet are lost as discussed above), was also used in provincial areas but reluctantly, it seems. The most commonly used foot in the East is either a low cylindrical plain foot or a square one sometimes of cubic shape. Perhaps provincial workshops were not convinced about the stability of the high foot or simply preferred a low foot for aesthetic reasons.
- 50 See for example the bust of M. Aurelius Apollonios in Aydin Museum inv. 63, see Inan & Rosenbaum 1966, 175–76 no. 235 pl. 130, 3–4.
- 51 I am grateful to Katharina Lorenz for having drawn my attention to possible parallels from Pompeii. For *pinaces* on small columns, see Casa della Fortuna in Dwyer 1982, figs. 106–14. For representations in painting, see Mazzoleni & Pappalardo & Romano 2004, 228. From the *tablinum* of the House of the Tragic Poet a painting shows a small column with a statuette on top, see Mazzoleni & Pappalardo & Romano 2004, 352.
- 52 For example on the lid of the late fourth century A.D. sarcophagus of Christ and the Apostles in Milan, Basilica di St. Ambrogio, see Dresken-Weiland 1998, 56–58 no. 150 showing the worship of a bust of King Herod placed on a low column; a sarcophagus in Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale P. Orsi inv. 864, see Dresken-Weiland 1998, 8–10 here fig. 159 showing the worship of a bust of king Nebukadnezzar. I owe these references to Beat Brink.
- 53 A bust of a certain Crepereia Innula was found (during construction work in what seems to be a secondary context) with its inscribed base near Haidra, ancient Colonia Flavia Augusta Emerita Ammaedara, in Tunisia, see Beschaouch 1966, 1120–25. For a statue of the same woman also with inscription, see p. 284. Goette's suggestion, see Goette 1984, 92, that the bases may have been wooden is not convincing because they would not all have been of wood, and some stone ones would have survived.
- 54 Alföldy 2003, 41 has a list of seven miniature bases honouring senators. The bases either carried statuettes or busts.
- 55 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 112121=124710, see Giuliano 1985, 305f. VI,15 and here fig. 160.
- 56 Two Hadrianic busts, admittedly representing personifications, were found near remains of columns at Tiberius' villa at Sperlonga, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 1905 and 1906, see Fejfer in M. Moltesen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Catalogue. Imperial Rome III*, nos. 87–88. Copenhagen forthcoming.
- 57 Discussed p. 57.
- 58 Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos 2003, 466 fig. 1. For a plan of the villa, see Spyropoulos 2001, 208. The busts may be the numbers 2 and 7 in the list and plan in Spyropoulos 2001, 22 and 208.
- 59 Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos 2003, 469 figs. 14–15.
- 60 Spyropoulos 2001, 25–27, 208 nos. 21a–b, 22, 23a–b, 24a–b, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36a–b, 37a–b, 38, 39, and 41.
- 61 Recently recovered documents concerning the excavation of the so-called Licinian tomb, have confirmed the display of portrait busts in decorative niches, van Keuren 2004, 63–65.
- 62 Or statuary in miniature.
- 63 So busts from Pergamon discussed p. 58.
- 64 Moss 1989.
- 65 Eck 1992, 364 notes 37–38.
- 66 For example in the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, and House of the Labyrinth, see Mazzoleni & Pappalardo & Romano 2004, 275 and 167.
- 67 See for example the Antinous Écouen in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1082, see Kersauson 1996, 168–69 no. 70. For the Hadrianic bust type, see Stern 1980, 148–9.

- 68 A bust of Caracalla in Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. 468 holds the handle of a sword, see Fittschen in Fittschen & Zanker 1985, 102–4 no. 88, and a bust of a priest found at Aprodiasis holds the miniature model of the statue of the Aphrodite Aphrodisias, see Smith 1990, 128. On a silver medallion Julia Domna holds a cornucopia and a statuette of Concordia, see Alexandridis 2004, pl. 64.3. More common was however a bookscroll as Thessaloniki Museum inv. 2495, see Dispinis & Stephanidou-Tiberiou & Voutyras 2003, 202–3 pl. 933–37. Generally on large half-figure busts see references above in note 36.
- 69 Trajan is depicted with a breast bare and an *aegis* on his shoulder, a representation unknown in his full-figure statue but seen on his sculpted busts, cameos and coins, see Fejfer & Melander 2003, 86–87. Commodus wears a lion skin in the half-figure format mentioned above and is on coins but not in full figure statues, see von den Hoff 2005, 125. Private citizens with special attributes such as a Hadrianic male portrait with a naked breast and a panther skin over his shoulder (Rome, Villa Albani inv. 698) are probably represented in *consecratio in formam deorum* i.e. they are private deifications as in the full-size statuary, see R. Amedick in Villa Albani IV 395 no. 514.
- 70 Kockel 1993, pl. 106.
- 71 Cain 1993, 24 with discussion of the foot in bronze portraits during the early first century A.D.
- 72 Goette 1984, 94f.
- 73 The bust is sometimes embedded in foliage ('Blätterkelch'). This is discussed under funerary context p. 137.
- 74 Cain 1993, 13ff. for a detailed analysis of the development of the bust shape during the first century A.D.
- 75 Some Flavian portraits have a very small 'Augustan' bust type, see Cain 1993, 20 and Goette has demonstrated the same for the Trajanic period, see Goette 1983.
- 76 Cain 1993, 108–9 with examples from the West. Inan & Rosenbaum 1979 nos. 181, 247, 250, 251 for Asia Minor.
- 77 Zanker 1980, 198–202.
- 78 With attribute see for example the early second century A.D. nude bust of a young man wearing on his left shoulder a panther skin alluding to Bacchus in Rome, Villa Albani inv. 698, see Villa Albani IV, 393–96, no. 514 discussed by R. Amedick.
- 79 For the *aegis* bust, see Fejfer & Melander 2003, 82–88.
- 80 For the earliest cuirassed busts, see Boschung 1989, 90–91.
- 81 Compare Strack II pl. VIII,1 with Wegner 1956 pl. 22. Fittschen in Fittschen & Zanker 1985 no. 52.
- 82 The scale cuirass is common but when worn in the presence of the emperor it was probably the uniform of the praetorian guard. For scaled cuirass busts, see Fittschen in Fittschen & Zanker 1985, 93 no. 80 note 13. To Fittschen's list may be added the busts of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius found close to the temple of Demeter on the Agora in Cyrene and in Cyrene Museum inv. C 17035 and C 17026, see Rosenbaum 1960, nos. 47 and 50. Also found were two additional headless scaled busts inv. C 57001 and C 17145 suggesting an Antonine gallery, see Rosenbaum 1960, nos. 104–105. They might have been placed on the curved bench in the circular cult building where statues of Demeter and Kore were discovered.
- 83 Wegner 1939 pl. 1,2,15, 19, 21,24, 26, 32.
- 84 Hallett 2005, 132–35 on the Hellenistic origins of the fringed cloak worn in combination with the nude portrait statue during the Republican period.
- 85 For *civilitas* and the Antonine emperors, see Smith 1998, 62 with references; for the portraits of Trajan, see Zanker 1980, 199 and 201.

- 86 For a discussion of a unique bust of a private citizen in the Cherchel Museum w.i.
 – a special cuirass type with shoulder lappets otherwise only worn by the emperor
 – see Fittschen 1999, no. 121 pl. 185c–d. See also Fittchen in Fittschen & Zanker 1985, 46 note 13 for more examples of private individuals in cuirassed busts.
- 87 The popularity of the cuirassed bust among Antonine and later emperors is of course based on busts cut from the same piece as the head. Portraits of private citizens may have been added separately to the bust more often than is the case for the imperial portraits. In the 18th century a portrait of a private person which was led into a cuirassed bust would typically have been exchanged for an imperial portrait (ancient or modern) to raise its value.
- 88 For Asia Minor all for example, see Inan & Rosenbaum 1979, nos. 320–22, 289, 143, 139, Inan & Rosenbaum 1966, nos. 58, 59, 126, 292 but pl. 189 in Inan & Rosenbaum 1979.
- 89 Female bust found with the male bust at the city gate of Stratonikeia in Asia Minor in the Bodrum Museum inv. 4.4.78, see Özgan 1999, no. K 50, pl. 46.
- 90 Wegner 1976, 121 on the decline of the popularity of the cuirassed bust during Caracalla.
- 91 There are three busts of Septimius Severus in toga of the early contabulated form, nos. 92, 132 and 136 in Soeckting 1972. The Julio-Claudian emperors might have worn the toga but the bust shape is not large enough to tell.
- 92 Evidence, see Borg 2004b, 197 with notes 34–38.
- 93 For a list of busts in *toga contabulata*, see Goette 1990, 148–53 lists Cb and D. See also Calza 1977 pl. 56–58 with numerous examples of the *toga contabulata* in funerary art.
- 94 An early (probably Late Flavian) bust in tunica and himation was found in a house destroyed in 267 A.D., see Harrison 1953, no. 19.
- 95 The unhappy result of a portrait statue in himation with breast bare is a statue from the agora of Gortyn in Heraklion Museum inv. H1, see Portale in Romeo & Portale 1998, no. 22.
- 96 These busts were not confined to funerary contexts as the Staia Quinta herm bust from Nemi, discussed p. 303 demonstrates.
- 97 Only those busts which were intended for letting into a (draped) statue or bust were naked around the neck-line. The bust of Licinia which was led into a herm shaft was however left undraped, see below plate 33b.
- 98 For example a Trajanic bust in Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 117-E, see Schröder 1993, no. 45.
- 99 Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 2362, see Kersauson 1996, no. 79.
- 100 It appears frequently in relief on tombstones, see Özgan 1999, nos. GR 21–23 pl. 55. It is also common in gold glass, see bibliography in Özgan 1999.
- 101 London, British Museum inv. 2009, see Wegner 1976, pl. 27,1 and Toulouse, Musée Saint-Raymont inv. MSR-30131, see Regard de Rome 1995, no. 110.
- 102 It is seen already in a bust of Sabina, Rome, Vatican Museums, Sala dei Busti 359, see Wegner 1956 pl. 44 but becomes much more common during the third century, see for example a bust of Octacilia Severa in Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 1914, 271, see Wegner 1976 124 pl. 26,2.
- 103 Two large busts recall the so-called Large Herculanean woman full-figure statuary type, Hannover, Kestner Museum. The two busts which appeared on the market along with two male busts in the late 1980's and were bought by the Kestner Museum may not be ancient, see Mlasowsky 1992, 177 and 182. A bust in Toulouse, see above note 101 does not recall the Large Herculanean Woman but rather distantly reflects the so-called Ceres type statue.
- 104 A bust of Caracalla carries the handle of a sword in his left hand, see above note 68 and a third century (headless) male bust found in the so-called Atrium House

in Aphrodisias holds a miniature version of the Aphrodite Aphrodisias in his hand, see Erim 1990, 17–18 fig. 9. The context of the latter bust is discussed by Smith, see Smith 1990, 128.

Selves and Others: Ways of Expressing Identity in the Roman Male Portrait

- 1 The question of to what extent Republican veristic and later Roman portraits were rooted in observations of the patron's physiognomy is a reoccurring one in the study of Roman portraiture. However, it is not particularly relevant because there is probably no universal answer; we will never know what the honorands themselves looked like. For a brief survey of scholarly approaches to the origin of the Roman portrait, see above p. 5 ff. For ways of reading Roman Republican portraiture, see Nodelman 1993, 10–16. Reconstructed heads of mummified bodies can be compared to the painted portraits incerted into the mumy case and the results show that some patrons looked like their painted portraits while others did not, see Fejfer 1999, 145; Neave & Prag 2005. For the uncertainties in the method of reconstructing faces, see Linney 2005, 149.
- 2 Zanker 1995b, 474–76 drawing attention to realism in Greek portraiture during the third century B.C.
- 3 Giuliani 1986, 190–220 and *passim*; Smith 1981 36–38; Smith 1989, 125–28; Tanner 2000, 35–40, 44 and *passim*.
- 4 Eilers 2002, 113: "No clearly attested case exists, however, until the last decades of the century, and the inscriptions sometimes cited as examples of such an early use have been either wrongly dated or misunderstood".
- 5 Payne 1984. The evidence for women documented by van Bremen 1996.
- 6 See the discussion in Smith 1988, 125–28.
- 7 Zanker 1995b, 476ff. A recent find at Kedesh in Israel of an archive room with 1.400 clay seals, many with veristic portraits and dated around the middle of the second century B.C. may push the date of Roman realism back into the very early second century B.C., according to Brian Rose in a paper delivered at the American Academy in Rome 17 March 2004.
- 8 The work of Massimo Papini, see Papini 2004, on Republican portraiture from the fourth to the second century only recently came to my attention. Papini has studied the Etruscan material carefully and includes votive heads, urns and sarcophagi with portraits as well as free-standing stone sculpture and he discusses different influences on this material. In the terracotta heads with individual physiognomy, Papini sees influences from Greek and Selucid royal portraiture as well as philosopher portraits. In the urns of the middle class, however, he interestingly observes Ptolemaic influence in the form of dionysiac *joie de vivre*. Ptolemaic influence was not further reflected in Roman portraiture in contrast to the dominant (according to Papini) Greek influence.
- 9 A general investigation on the dedication of honorific statues in late second and first century B.C. Rome based on epigraphic and sculptural evidence is still lacking. For the interpretation of Republican portraits within the framework of political competition among the aristocratic families in Rome, see Giuliani 1986, 114–15 and Schneider 2003, 61.
- 10 Brilliant 1993.
- 11 Giuliani 1986; Fittschen 1991 against some of Giuliani's occasionally dubious identifications and hypotheses.
- 12 I show below that a number of imperial portrait types have been wrongly dated. This does not undermine the overall general picture of the chronology but rather

- shows how the whole system of commissioning imperial portraits may, at least partly, have been misunderstood.
- 13 Zanker 1982, 311.
 - 14 Schneider 2003, 63–74.
 - 15 Bergmann 1994.
 - 16 *Ann* 3.55. The text is discussed by Eilers 2004, 172ff.
 - 17 Cain 1994, 109–11 on the strong influence of imperial styling on private individuals during that period.
 - 18 This was, as we shall see, not the case with the portrait of the empress and those of her fellow women.
 - 19 For a statue of the Demos from the theatre of Aphrodisias, Aphrodisias Museum inv. 70–630, see Erim & Smith 1991, 74 no. 6 fig. 8. The Genius of the Senate on the so-called Acilia sarcophagus in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 126372 is styled similarly to the surrounding portrait figures, see Kunckel 1974, 67 pl. 26,2 and the Genius Senatus on the attica relief showing a sacrificial scene on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna has been interpreted as the emperor. For personifications blending in with honorific statuary, see Witschel 1995, 337. The so-called Barbarenköpfe are another group of heads, some of which may be personifications rather than portraits with strong ethnic identity.
 - 20 Exceptions to this, and evidence of strongly depicted physiognomy in athletic figures are the two bearded and battered fighters from Aphrodisias, although they are older than the norm, see p. 40, fig. 19 and plate 3. There is evidence that athletes were honoured in a himation, discussed p. 40 with figs. 21–22.
 - 21 Fittschen 1989 and Zanker 1995, 234–37.
 - 22 For the blurred distinction compare the four heads in Fittschen 1989 figs. 25–28, of Alexander the Great over Triptolemos and of a river god to a presumed portrait. The appearance of these portraits, geographically widely distributed during the second century when hairstyles in general became opulent, speaks against an interpretation of them as ethnic representations.
 - 23 Evers ascribes an Antonine private portrait (known in a further copy, Munich, Glyptothek inv. 344) in Avignon, Musée Calvet inv. G.171 to the same metropolitan Roman workshops that produced portraits of the young Marcus Aurelius on stylistic grounds. The latter portrait is also in Avignon, Musée Calvet inv. G.172, see Evers 1996. For identifying workshops on technical details, see Fittschen 2001 discussed further p. 312.
 - 24 Bergmann 1982, 143–47 (in the same volume as Zanker published his influential article on the ‘Zeitgesicht’) discusses the wearing of the beard in imperial and private portraiture long before the Hadrianic period, on verism before the Flavian period, and other issues related to this discussion. Also Maschek 2004, 174.
 - 25 A convincing suggestion made by Smith 1998, 83–87. Evidence for clean-shaven Hadrianic men, see Fittschen 1992–93, 460 and *passim*. A series of mid-Antonine portraits boasting short, straight-combed hairstyles and beards form a ‘period-face’ quite different to that of Marcus Aurelius, see Fittschen 1999, 78ff. Portraits of the Neronian-Flavian period show a variety of hairstyles, which are not attested in the imperial images, see Cain 1993, 68ff., for example her Anuli-hairstyles with snail curls around the forehead.
 - 26 Rome Capitoline Museums, Sala del Fauno inv. MC459 and MC579, see Stern 1980, 95 and *passim*.
 - 27 Zanker 1983, 261 suggests that the statue was set up before Balbus’ death because it is placed behind the alter. Viewed from the main entrance to the square it is placed next to the alter.
 - 28 I thank Ittai Gradel for his translation.

- 29 Height: 1.3 m; width: 0.83 m; depth: 0.58 m. The other base measures, height: 1.34 m; width: 0.65m., see Beschaouch 1966. Unfortunately the depth is only given for one of the bases. No good photo documentation of statue and bust, which are in Tunis, Bardo Museum (without inv.), exists and it cannot be excluded that the head of Crepereia on the statue may have been reworked.
- 30 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 707, see Moltesen 1997, 28–29 and 142 no. 22.
- 31 For Fundilius' *calcei* and their social implications, see Goette 1988, 459–63.
- 32 For a good description of the technical details of the sculptures, see Moltesen 1997, 141–46 nos. 20–30. For the sculptures in general, see Moltesen 1997a; Guldager Bilde 1997; Guldager Bilde 2000; Moltesen 2000; Bombardi 2000.
- 33 At the beginning of the reading the book scroll would rest in the right hand while at the end it would be in the left hand, see von den Hoff 1994, 80–81.
- 34 Leppin 1992, 132 suggests that the *parasiti* of Apollo were an organization of actors performing religious rites and that the *doctus* was the leader. For the reading and interpretation of the inscriptions accompanying the sculptures found in the Fundilia room I rely heavily on Salskov Roberts 1997. See also Bombardi 2000.
- 35 The subject of an exhibition in 1997 in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen and which brought together finds in Copenhagen with finds kept in Nottingham Castle Museum, see Moltesen 1997. For an overview of the sculptural finds from the Fundilia room, see Guldager Bilde 2000.
- 36 In early plans, for example that of Rossbach in 1890, the room is 8 x 6.1m. but recent excavations have shown that this was not the case and that the room was closer to being a square, see Ghini 2000, 64 note 33.
- 37 The construction of the room and the mosaic is much earlier than the sculptures and the facade of the room. The two fluted red stuccoed columns were made into a central doorway while the two side *intercolumnia* were blocked up probably when the sculptures were installed. Guldager Bilde 1997, 209–10. on the tabula inscription *CIL XIV 4183 M-SERVILLIUS-QUARTUS-ALAM-EXPOLIT-ET-ET-OVAE-INTUS-POSITA-AUNT-DIA-*
- 38 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 708, see Moltesen 1997, 120 and 141, no. 20.
- 39 For the *stola* see Scholz 1992, 13–32 and 39 Sr. 14 on the Fundilia statue.
- 40 A replica of the statue body but *capite velato* and representing Eumachia, who dedicated a large building complex next to the forum in Pompeii, is in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, see Zanker 1995, 102–10.
- 41 The head of Fundilia is probably also Docimion marble whereas the body is almost certainly of Carrara marble, see Moltesen & Bald Romano & Herz 2002, 104.
- 42 Kockel 1993, 39–42 and Wood 1995, 478–79. Fundilia's hair is a mixture of the hairstyles worn by the mother and child formerly in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Braccio Nuovo II 13, inv. 2176 and now in Centrale Montemartini, see Zanker in Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 39 no. 42. A portrait of a woman in Museo Nazionale di Arezzo inv. 24673 has a cutting similar to that of Fundilia on the top of her head and she may have worn the *tutulus* hairstyle, see Andreæ 2006, p. 11. There is also a statue of a woman with a *tutulus* found in the necropolis outside the Herculanean Gate in Pompeii, see here fig. 262.
- 43 Kockel 1993, 42 considers the hairstyle of Fundilia so old-fashioned that her portraits may be posthumous.
- 44 Flower 2002.
- 45 Nottingham, Castle Museum inv. N 827, see Moltesen 1997 142 no. 21.
- 46 A further base with an identical inscription may have belonged to yet another herm of Fundilia.
- 47 Only the shaft mentioning Sorex seems to be of a different grey marble but with pink spots, see Granino Cecere 1988–89, 131–33.

- 48 These are the herms inscribed L·FAENIUS·FAUSTUS·QUARTAR·PAR·APOL in Nottingham Castle Museum inv. N 828, see Moltesen 1997, 146 no. 30 and a herm in Nemi inscribed C·NORBANU[s ---?] SOREX·SECUNDARUM·PARASITUS·D·N·D·D; see Granino Cecere 1988–89, 132–33.
- 49 Only the head of Licinia may be of Carrara marble, see Moltesen & Bald Romano & Herz 2002, 104.
- 50 Nottingham, Castle Museum inv. N 828, see Moltesen 1997, 146 no. 30. No marble analyses were made on the Nottingham herm and head.
- 51 Granino Cecere 1988–89, 132–33.
- 52 For the head of Sorex, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 4991, see Bonifacio 1997, 28–30 no. 1 pl. 1. For the inscribed herms, see Granino Cecere 1988–89.
- 53 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1438, see Moltesen 1997, 145, no. 28. For the meaning of the wreath, see Rumscheid 2000, 73–78. The wreathed head does not fit into the herm inscribed L·FAENIUS·FAUSTUS·QUARTAR·PAR·APOL. It therefore cannot be excluded that the wreathed head is, in fact the portrait of the no doubt famous Sorex, belonging to his herm shaft in Nemi. The bronze portrait from Pompeii, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 4991, see Bonifacio 1997 pl. 1, shows him with shorter hair and less pronounced furrows across the forehead but the different materials and the use of a different model could account for these difference. However, such speculations are of little use and they are not of importance for the argument.
- 54 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1436, see Moltesen 1997, 144 no. 25. The inscription is *CIL XIV* 4201.
- 55 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1437, see Moltesen 1997, 143 no. 23. The inscription is *CIL XIV* 4272.
- 56 For the social prestige of the *orator* in Roman society, see Raeck 2000, 158–61. There is no need to date this portrait to the Flavian period as for example Moltesen 1997, 144. The hairstyle is quite different and the treatment of flesh and eyes compares well to a portrait from Pompeii, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 111385 and by Bonifacio convincingly dated to the Claudian period, see Bonifacio 1996, 102–3, no. 41 pl. 34.
- 57 All three female heads can be ascribed to the Claudian period. The two belonging herms are inscribed STAIA·L·L·QUINTA (*CIL XIV* 4203) and LICINIAE·CHRYSARI·ONI·M·BOLANUS·CANUSAEG·H·C·N·S (*CIL XIV* 4202). Staia Quinta Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1435 is the only among the Nemi group where Mette Moltesen is in doubt whether herm and bust belong together. The bust of Staia Quinta is bigger than the rest of the group but this may be due to the desire to include the assimilation to Venus by her partly bare left shoulder. Her hairstyle fits well with the Claudian period, compare the children of Claudius. Licinia Crysarion, a Greek freedwoman of the famous Licinian family? Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 761 is proved to belong to the Licinia Chrysarion herm in Nottingham, Castle Museum inv. N 830, see Moltesen 2000, 114–15. Zimmer 1995, 222 describes the bust as recut from a free-standing? bust into the herm format. There is no evidence for that.
- 58 Corbeill 2004, 114–16 and Gleason 1995, 106 on Cicero's critique of voice training.
- 59 Jory 1970, 240–43; Salskov Roberts 1996, 174–75.
- 60 Webb 2002, 282–303.
- 61 Boschung 2002, 110 also considers the group as a whole set up either at the same time or within a short period during the Late Tiberian and Early Claudian period. Hölscher has demonstrated how the Romans adopted various Greek period styles to express particular Roman ideals and values in the state art, Hölscher 2004, 88–102 and Hölscher 2005.
- 62 On intellectuals during the Early Empire in the West, see Borg 2004, 157–58.

- 63 Cicero, *Stoic Paradoxes* 6.46. See Eilers 2002, 8.
- 64 Cicero, *Pro Quinto Roscio Comoedo* 27–29. Loeb edition translated by J.H. Freese 1967.
- 65 See p. 42 and see Lendon 1997, 101, ILS 5186.
- 66 For the important link between theatrical performance and worship of the gods in Italy, see Edwards 1993, 107–9.
- 67 See the discussion on the use of the herm format above.
- 68 Nista 1991, 55–72.
- 69 This was first observed by Rolf Michael Schneider and I thank him for drawing my attention to this.
- 70 *Letters III.X.* Loeb edition translated by Betty Radice. London & Cambridge Massachusetts 1969 discussed p. 138.
- 71 Fittschen 1999, 78ff and pl. 130ff. Fittschen, however, draws attention to the fact that during this period there are also popular portrait styles among private citizens, which do not boast the typical curly hairstyles but show long straight locks as in the portraits of Polydeukion.
- 72 There are unfortunately no investigations of second century A.D. imperial portraits matching those by Boschung and Pfanner on the portraits of Caligula and Augustus and in which the relationship between copies and between copies and the prototype are carefully discussed, Boschung 1993 and Pfanner 1989. Soechting 1972 on the portraits of Septimius Severus and Evers 1994 on the portraits of Hadrian, attribute the copies to four or five different workshops, but I doubt that this is possible because of the variation in quality which could have existed within a workshop and would also have depended on the individual commissioning for example how much money that individual would provide, as well as the function and context of the portrait, etc., see below.
- 73 L'Orange 1965, 128.
- 74 Smith 1999, 179–89 and *passim* for evidence of the change in social make-up during the period and Bauer 1996, 284–90, 295–96 and 424–25 for a catalogue of the statues and inscriptions found at the *Embos* in Ephesus. For the general change in social make-up during the period, see also above p. 43. For the late antique ruler portrait, see also Elsner 1998, 54–63 and Hannestad 2001.
- 75 See the important article by Foss 1984.
- 76 Alföldy 2001, 4–6 and Bauer 1996, 133.
- 77 Alföldy 2001, 9–13.
- 78 Von Sydow 1969.
- 79 Smith 1999, 168 on the 'mop' hairstyles.
- 80 Depictions of workshops in reliefs are discussed below. A complex of rooms in a stoa north of the bouleuterion at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor has been identified as a sculptor's workshop because of the find of a number of unfinished works and works in need of repair. Hardly any evidence for sculpture workshops not to mention their organization has survived. Rockwell 1991. Depots with sculptures in need of repair are not uncommon, as for example a depot from a late antique villa in Nea Paphos in Cyprus, see Feijer 2005.
- 81 Sculptural workshops have been identified in Pompeii, see Mustilli 1950, 215f. For identification of regional workshops on the basis of epigraphic evidence, see De Franciscis 1973 on a presumed workshop in Puteoli including a signed base for a statue of Commodus, *CIL* X 1648. Artists signatures were discussed above, as was the funerary inscription commemorating Aurelius Felicianus a second century portrait painter in Clusium who was proud of painting portrait of both the emperor and upper class people.
- 82 Such as Bertel Thorvaldsen, Carlo Albacini and Antonio Canova's studios in Rome.
- 83 A Julio-Claudian relief in Villa Albani inv. 984 discussed by G. Lahusen, see Villa Albani I, 271–74 no. 87 shows the *duumvir* Q. Lollius Alcamenes, dressed in tunica

and large mantle seated on an elegant stool with a soft cushion. He holds the bust of a young boy (the head of the bust is smaller than that of the seated Alcamenes and probably therefore represents a life-size representation of a boy) up in front of him and holds an unidentified object in his right hand, which rests in his lap. To the right is a woman sacrificing by a large candelabrum. The object in the right hand of Lollius Alcamenes has been interpreted as a modelling stick and the whole scene has therefore been interpreted as a sculptor working on a portrait bust of a deceased boy while the woman is making a sacrifice on behalf of her deceased son. This is, however, as Lahusen argues quite unlikely because of Alcamenes' social position and the elegance surrounding him. It is more probable a mourning father holding the bronze bust of his deceased son. The object in his hand may be a book scroll. See also above p. 119.

- 84 Rome, Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri inv. 2676, see D'Ambra 1995, 671–72 fig. 7.
- 85 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum Inv. 775, see Koch 1999, 555 and pl. 135, 2–3. Drawing and description of the whole scene, to the left the sculptor's workshop and to the right a palaestra scene, see Mendel 1912, 78 no. 13.
- 86 For example the imperial group including a hipmantle statue of Tiberius, a headless hipmantle statue, a Tiberian male head carved for insertion into a statue, see Boschung 2002, 109–110.
- 87 Greek sculptors sometimes signed their work whereas Romans very rarely did, see above.
- 88 Unlike the Hellenistic world we also lack any evidence of famous court sculptors taking care of the styling of the imperial image. In spite of that the 'Hofbildhauer' or 'court sculptor or master' is a reoccurring phenomenon in the archaeological literature, see the discussion below.
- 89 Galli 2002, 188ff. for an interpretation of the complex as a *heroon* and 196 and pl. 27 with photos of all three busts Marcus Aurelius, Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1161; Herodes Atticus, Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1164; Lucius Verus bust Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. 1947.277. See also for the Marcus Aurelius bust the front cover of Kersauson 1996 and p. 226 no. 99 and for Herodes Atticus, see Kersauson 1996, 290–92 no. 132.
- 90 For the interpretation of the styling and technique of portraits of Herodes Atticus, see Smith 1998, 79.
- 91 Fittschen with one possible Gallienic example, see Fittschen 2001, 73, note 26 but as also remarked by Fittschen, the contabulated toga bust itself resembles Antonine examples.
- 92 The shape and execution of the neck support on portrait statues may be another possibility for identifying eastern workshops.
- 93 Teramo, Museo Civico without inv., see Sanzi Di Mino & Nista 1993, 100 no. 33. It was found with two Antonine female portraits nos. 31 and 32. Both Castle Howard busts are discussed by B. Borg, see B. Borg & H. von Hesberg & A. Linfert, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Castle Howard*, forthcoming. Borg convincingly argues for a date of the Castle Howard busts to the early Antonine period.
- 94 Recorded by Nicola Palma, see Sanzi Di Mino & Nista 1993, 96 under no. 31.
- 95 Commodus in Rome, Capitoline Museums inv. 1120, see Fittschen & Zanker 1985, 85–90 no. 78 and Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1179 and Ma 1170, see Kersauson 1996, 236–37 no. 104 and 272–73 no. 122.
- 96 Zanker 1995, 223–29. Younger versions without the beard and with hair that is brushed up over the forehead with a center parting have been interpreted as Alexander imitations, see Fittschen 1989 or alternatively as a reflection of a general heroic habit, see Zanker 1995, 234–37. For a discussion of Cyrenaicans as being distinct (or not) from other Libyans, see Marshall 1999, 54–58.

- 97 The statue found at the east corner is Cyrene Museum inv. C17028, see Rosenbaum 1960, no. 83 and the one from the south-west corner is Cyrene Museum inv. C17024, see Rosenbaum 1960 no. 84.
- 98 It is not uncommon that two copies of the same type of portrait of the Roman emperor for example, but also of private citizens might be set up on the same spot perhaps by two different dedicators, see for example the villa of Lucius Verus at Aqua Traversa, which contained several portraits of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Nonius Balbus received two identical equestrian statues in the forum of Herculaneum, one dedicated by citizens of Nuceria the other by the citizens of Herculaneum, see the discussion p. 219.
- 99 The early contabulatio toga bust is Munich, Glyptothek inv. 383 and the *paludamentum* bust is 382, see Boschung & Pfanner 1989, 20–21 figs. 12–15.
- 100 Havé-Nikolaus 1998, 8–19. On different local techniques, see Claridge 1985.
- 101 Above all Trillmich 1995.
- 102 Reconstruction drawing in Regard de Rome p. 205.
- 103 *ex officina Gai Auli, ex officina G(ai) Auli fi(...)o li(...); ex officina Gai Au(li); Ex officina Gai A(uli); Ex officina Ga(vacant)i and Ex officina Gai A+++*, see Ramírez Sádaba 2002, 141–48 nos. 78–83, pl. 63–68 with photos of the signatures. The statues are discussed in Trillmich 1990. See also Boschung & Pfanner 1988, 25.
- 104 Merida Museum inv. MNAR 33005 and 33006 nos. 80–81, see Ramírez Sádaba 2002.
- 105 Merida Museum, without inventory, no. 82, see Ramírez Sádaba 2002.
- 106 Boschung 2002, 35–39 pl. 24–25.
- 107 So also Boschung & Pfanner 1988, 24–26.

Part Three: The Empress and her Fellow Elite Women

Roman Women in Public

- 1 This chapter elaborates on the ideas which I published in 2003, see Fejfer 2003. During the imperial period a woman could hold the office of *prytania*: This was mainly a religious function. In the East women are also known as *agonothetai* i.e. sponsors of games, see van Bremen 1993, 64f. and 73–76. See also Friesen 1999 and Soldan 1999.
- 2 For the *stola*, see Scholz 1992. Following Scholz 1992 now Alexandridis 2004, 51–54.
- 3 Other mythical female figures known to have been honoured with a statue in Rome include the vestal virgins Gaia Taracia = Fufetia, discussed p. 55 and Quinta Claudia. For early statues of Roman women in Rome, see Flower 2002, 169–79. See also Sehlmeyer 1999, 187–89.
- 4 Only Plutarch, *CG* 4,4 describes the statue as bronze. Pliny, *HN* XXXIV.31 describes the statue as seated and without sandals in the former Porticus of the Metelli but in his time in Porticus Octaviae, while he in *HN* XXXVI.15 describes the famous seated marble statue of Aphrodite by Phidias. See Zanker in Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 35 under no. 38.
- 5 Coarelli argues that the inscription was recut in the Augustan period from an original 111 B.C. inscription to accommodate the name of Cornelia's father. Flower suggests that the base replaced an original base which was destroyed. The rationale for each hypothesis is dubious. The article by Ruck 2004 appeared too late to be included in this study.
- 6 For the Augustan reading of Cornelia's statue, see Flower's convincing discussion 2002, 172–74.
- 7 Coarelli identifies it with the so-called Aphrodite-Olympias type showing a woman seated with her legs stretched forward and known to have been used as a statuary

- type for the empress Helena, see Alexandridis 2004, 192 no. 199. The format of the base for Cornelia's statue does not exclude for example a seated muse-like type either, see fig. 5.
- 8 F.S. Kleiner in Kleiner & Matheson 1996, 56f.
 - 9 *HN* XXXIV.31.
 - 10 Flory 1993, 287 and 292–6.
 - 11 For the Cartoceto bronzes in Museo degli Bronzi Dorati in Pergola, Marche see Pollini 1993, 423–46 and Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 54–57 no. 17.
 - 12 For Viciria, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6168, see Zanker 1983, 262 and for the father of Balbus Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6167, see also Zanker 1983, 262 and Pappalardo 1997, 422 (the latter identifying it as Balbus himself, see above p. 219–23)
 - 13 See for example a statue of a Severan woman found in the theatre of Leptis Magna, Leptis Archaeological Museum without inv., see Caputo & Traversari 1976, 89–91 no. 68. A reused (?) seated, now headless, statue honouring a certain Scholastikia at the end of the fourth century A.D. was found with its inscribed base in the Vedins Baths in Ephesus, which were restored by Scholastikia, see Schade 2003, 68–69.
 - 14 Koch 1994, 136f., 232 cat. 125.
 - 15 Hemelrijk 1998, 131.
 - 16 Rome, Vatican Museums, Cortile Ottagonale 7, see Armelung 1903–08 vol. II, 297–98 no. 102s and Andreae 1998 pl. 200–202. Another seated but now headless statue of a woman may derive from the same unknown context, Cortile Ottagonale 6, see Amelung 1903–08 vol. II, 296 no. 102q and Andreae 1998 pl. 187–89.
 - 17 For women's intellectual life, see Hemelrijk 1998.
 - 18 Ulpian, *Digesta* L,17,2 and V,1,12,2 and III,3,54. Ulpian probably compiled the *Digesta* during the reign of Caracalla. The office of *prytanis*, which women occasionally held in the East, was also mainly a cultic function, see Bielefeld 1999. Women in the East were also sometimes head of the *gymnasium* and *gerousia*, though. It is argued by van Bremen 1994 and Reynolds 1987, 112 that women in the East could hold a limited number of offices in lieu of their deceased husbands. Contrary Mantas 1997, 92 that women inherited wealth and offices from their fathers.
 - 19 *Instita* mentioned by for example Horats may also be a purple stripe on the *stola*, see Alexandridis 2004, 51 with note 472.
 - 20 Literary sources by Scholz 1992, 13ff.
 - 21 Outside the public sphere its use was less restricted and freedwomen might wear it in funerary reliefs, see Alexandridis 2004, 52 note 474.
 - 22 Pre-pubescent girls, prostitutes and adulteresses also sometimes wore the *toga praetexta*, see Davis 2005, 128. See Sebasta 2005, *passim*, on the inviolable state of the young vulnerable child of both sexes in the *toga praetexta*. For the frequency of the use of the *stola* by the empress and private women, see tables 9–14 in Alexandridis 2004.
 - 23 There is now an exhaustive work by A. Alexandridis on the statuary representation of Roman empresses up to the beginning of the third century including Julia Domna, see Alexandridis 2004. Alexandridis' work does include complete lists of the statuary formats employed by private women for comparison, in both table form and catalogue.
 - 24 A woman in the statuary type of Pudicitia, here fig. 262 was found by Tomb 33–43 outside the Herculaneum Gate in Pompeii, see Kockel 1983, 172.
 - 25 Vanderpool 2005, 16. Vanderpool also connects the popularity of the Small and Large Herculaneum Women types in the East during the 2nd century A.D. with their Attic origin and Hadrian's enthusiasm for things Greek, see Vanderpool 2005, 23–25.
 - 26 Cairo Museum. The relief is discussed by Brilliant, see Brilliant 1963, 139 fig. 3.84.

- 27 Jennifer Trimble has suggested that the eponymous Large and Small Herculaneum Women statues found in the theatre of Herculaneum both with idealized heads with classical melon hairstyles traditionally believed to represent goddesses are in fact honorific portraits and probably representing Herculaneum elite women of the Augustan period, see Trimble 2000. A further statuary representation in the format of the Large Herculanean Woman representing Plancia Magna from Perge, the Hadrianic priestess of Artemis and the imperial cult is discussed below.
- 28 Alexandridis 2004, 113–206. Alexandridis includes 235 catalogue entries but only 98 of these can be associated with specific statuary types (the rest being cameos and busts with either *stola* and/or attribute). Of these 98 imperial women statues there are 41 different statuary types. Her so-called Schulterbausch Typus is further subdivided into Typus Rom/Boston, Typus Berlin/London, Typus Ephesos, Typus Knossos, and Typus Leiden/Dion. To the 24 Iulio-Claudian could/should be added another 3 different Schulterbausch types, the Typus Ephesos, the Typus Berlin/London and the Typus Rom/Boston.
- 29 Spaeth 1996, 113–23 and Fejfer 2003, 80.
- 30 Alexandridis 2004, 58–64.
- 31 Fejfer 2003, 78.
- 32 Alexandridis 2004, 21 and her overview of coin legends for imperial women tables 15–29.
- 33 The Typus Leptis and Typus Grosseto. Each is known only in an isolated statue and they are suggested by Alexandridis 2004, 59 to have been developed for the imperial women.
- 34 See however Alexandridis 2004, 93 note 889 for the very limited evidence for Iuno assimilations for private women in funerary contexts.
- 35 See tables 11 and 13 in Alexandridis 2004. An exception is a Pudicitia type statue from the theatre of Vaison-La-Romaine found together with a statue of Hadrian and therefore probably representing Sabina. The Roman empress did not use the Venus types which showed the woman completely naked and such statues may even have been confined to a funerary context, see p. 128–29.
- 36 *Contra* Alexandridis 2004, 194 no. 203 who considers the Mars and Venus group in Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. 652 to represent an imperial couple. She also interprets a nude statue in Dresden, Skulpturensammlung inv. 394 as a portrait of Faustina Minor. It is however not certain that the head belongs to the statue, see Alexandridis 2004, 196f no. 210.
- 37 For a contrasting view, see Alexandridis 2004, 59 and 61 for the first century. It is only during the second century A.D. that Alexandridis suggests ‘Angleichung’.
- 38 On local coinage and inscriptions in the East the empress was sometimes assimilated with local goddesses. In Ephesos, for example, Sabina is celebrated as Hera and corresponds to dedications to Hadrian as Zeus Olympios, see Hahn 1994, 276ff. In Kyzikos in Mysia coins assimilate Faustina Minor with the main local goddess Kore Soteira, see Wroth 1892, 41 no. 175 pl. XI.1. In Egypt Sabina’s sister Paulina is assimilated with Isis-Selene following Ptolemaic traditions, see Grimm 1990, 33–45.
- 39 For the popularity of the Pudicitia type in the Hellenistic East, see Zanker 1995c, 262f.
- 40 Alexandridis 2004 pl. 29,2 and 20,4. Hellenistic female statues are often very sensual with the thin drapery revealing full, curvy body shapes. However, the stance is reserved and introverted, see Zanker 1995c, 262f.
- 41 Forbis 1990, 495–97 and 505–7.
- 42 Only three of the statuary types which were used to represent imperial women – the Hüftbausch type, the Large Herculanean Woman type, and the Ceres types – are known in more than three replicas with imperial portraits according to Alexandridis’ study. The 12 Schulterbausch type copies have been subdivided into five different types.

- 43 The *chiton*, recognizable by the many small buttons on the arms is sometimes worn instead of a tunica. Scholz 1992, 98 even argues for the chiton as a garment worn by Greek goddesses, and suggests that it was used in Roman female statuary to assimilate the woman portrayed with divinities. Usually, only one button is visible and it is therefore not possible to determine whether the woman wears a *chiton* or a tunica.
- 44 For the everyday dress of Roman women, see Scharf 1994.
- 45 For the iconography of the Vestal Virgins, see Bartman 1999, 94–95.
- 46 The *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre* has proved the political involvement and influence which Livia and imperial women may have had on political decisions, albeit indirect, see Eck & Caballos & Fernández 1996, 45. For the role of the images of Livia, see Bartman 1999.
- 47 Culham 1997, 199–200 on a passage in Dio on Livia.
- 48 Bartman 2001, 13–14.
- 49 For a good assessment of the role of jewellery, see Berg 2002.
- 50 Berg 2002, 35.
- 51 Kampen 1992, 159–69 and Berg 2002, 39.
- 52 Berg 2002, *passim*. For the jewellery as a status symbols, see also Kolb 1977, 239–59.
- 53 For the adornment of funerary statues with jewellery, see p. 138. In sculpted art most notably from Syria but also from other parts of the Empire including Rome and Northern Italy, see for example the Iulio-Claudian funerary stele of the Magius family in Milan a woman is depicted with a heavy necklace consisting of an inlaid oval metal? mounting, see Tocchetti Pollini 1990, 30–31 cat. 5 pl. 4–5. In painting for the so-called mummy portraits, see Borg 1996, 167–72.
- 54 Alexandridis 2004, 72 note 674.
- 55 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung inv. 31 329. It is possible that in his choice of jewellery for Julia Domna's portrait the painter was inspired by the contemporary so-called mummy portraits which were usually heavily adorned with jewellery. The painter may even have been skilled in painting portraits of the Greco-Roman upper class in Egypt. The funerary inscription of a portrait painter from Clusium proud of painting portraits of both the emperor and members of the upper class makes this even more likely. It is discussed p. 279 and 419.
- 56 Friggeri 2004, 141.
- 57 Schade 2003, 69–71 and 141–45.
- 58 Discussed in Bergmann 1999, 64f. and in Schade 2003, 197–98.
- 59 Schade 2003, 112ff.
- 60 Schade 2003, 114–15 considers jewellery to have been a sign of both female beauty and social differentiation.
- 61 So attested in funerary epigrams, see Matheson 1996, 182 ff.
Idealization does not necessarily exclude individuality, and it is striking that although 'idealized', there are almost always some signs of individuality in Roman female portraits.
- 62 Examples of 'veristic' female portraits, see Matheson 2000.
- 63 D'Ambra 1996 and Bartman 2001.
- 64 Generally Mannsperger 1998, 9–25. Separate marble toupees suggest the use of artificial hair as do literary sources. See however, Bartman 2001, 7–12.
- 65 Less likely interpretations are 1. a reaction against luxury because it would conflict with the general prominence of luxury in the 2nd century or 2. 'classicism' which can only be argued for in one of Sabina's portrait types.
- 66 For a contrary view, see Schade 2001, 275. She sees the empress as idealized in contrast to private women, who were more individualized.
- 67 So also observed by Smith 1985, 213.
- 68 Above all Bartman 1999.
- 69 For example Bartman 1999, nos. 13, 19, 40, 45, 51, 68, 69, 88.

- 70 Antonia Minor in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1228, see Kersauson 1986, 170 no. 79 with Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 1914, n.99, see Mansuelli 1961, 58 no. 45.
- 71 Agrippina Maior in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma1271, see Kersauson 1986, 134 no. 61 with Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 164-E, see Schröder 1993, 144 no. 34.
- 72 Agrippina Minor in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 755, see Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I, 150 no. 63 with Florence, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, inv. 71548, see Romualdi 1987, 76 no. 21.
- 73 Domitia in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1193, see Kersauson 1996, 42 no. 11 with Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1202, see Kersauson 1996, 50 no. 15.
- 74 Compare the head of Sabina in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 1489 here fig. 37 with head of a woman styled as Sabina in Rome, Villa Albani inv. 100, see R. Bol in Villa Albani II, 356 no. 252. The hairstyle of Trajan's wife Plotina was apparently not popular at all. Private women wear similar but not identical hairstyles: compare a portrait of Plotina in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1143, see Kersauson 1996, 90–91 no. 33 with a portrait in Athens, National Museum, see Borg 1996 pl. 59,2.
- 75 Matidia in Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori inv. 889, see Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 9 no. 8 with Madrid, Museo del Prado inv.371-E, see Schröder 1993, 183 no. 47.
- 76 Faustina Maior in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 782, see Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek II, 192 no. 78 with Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 216-E, see Schröder 1993, 230 no. 63. Plotina and Faustina Maior's hairstyles were rarely worn by private women and Messalina's does not seem to have been 'copied' at all.
- 77 Faustina Minor in Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 449, see Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 20 no. 19 with Rome, Villa Albani inv. 61, see C. Maderna-Lauter in Villa Albani II, 198 no. 214.
- 78 Julia Domna in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 1490, see Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek III, 28 no. 5 with Rome Palazzo Corsini inv. 643, see De Luca 1976, 82 no. 47.
- 79 Julia Mamaea in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 1416, see Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek III, 66 no. 23 with Rome, Palazzo Corsini inv. 641, see De Luca 1976, 81 no. 45.
- 80 On verism in late antique empress portraits, see Schade 2003, 137.
- 81 Fittschen 1996, 46.
- 82 Schade 2001 discusses age in Roman female portraits.
- 83 The Fonseca bust and a stucco relief with a seated woman from a tomb and absolutely dated to the Hadrianic period by stamps on tiles, see Feijer & Southworth 1989, 32 with note 12 with earlier references.
- 84 The moral anti-luxus legislation of Augustus has been seen as reducing women's influence during the Early Empire but Augustus' efforts to emphasize boundaries of rank and social status made elite women more visible and influential, as demonstrated by Culham 1997. The *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre* supports this conclusion, see above note 46.
- 85 Inscriptions of Roman empresses usually mention marital status. Find records are not detailed enough to allow generalizations regarding how often the statue representation of the empress was part of a family group, see Feijer 2003, 79.
- 86 For the titles of the Roman empress and the *mater castrorum* title first awarded Faustina Minor, see Kuhoff 1993, 251–56. For the empress' military role, see Alexandridis 2004, 91–92. Lundgreen 2004, 87–90 has a discussion of the *mater castrorum* title and the meaning of the empress as Minerva.
- 87 Kampen 1991.
- 88 See Boatwright 2000, 61–64 on the imperial family as representing Roman law and order as opposed to alien lawlessness.
- 89 See for example van Bremen 1996, 55ff. on the offices which women could hold in the Roman east.

- 90 Klaus Fittschen has suggested that some portrait types of women may on the basis of family resemblance to either the emperor or the empress be identified as imperial kinswomen, see Fittschen 1996, 42–52. For a study of senatorial women, see Raepsael-Charlier 1987.
- 91 Purcell 1986, 87.
- 92 See in particular Eck 1997, 73–99.
- 93 Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 229–30 no. 86.
- 94 Smidt-Colinet 1991, 439–45 and Şahin 1999, 228–36 nos. 195–196.
- 95 Variation of the Magnesia-Borghese type with so-called *orans* gesture, Julia Domna in Antalya Museum inv. A3262, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 116–18 no. 66 pl. 58–59 and Alexandridis 2004, 199 no. 217. Julia Soaemias in Antalya Museum inv. A3270, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 119–21 no. 66 pl. 58–59.
- 96 Schmidt-Colinet 1991. The statue is Antalya Museum inv. A3456, see Schmidt-Colinet 1991, pl. 49–50. The Syrian style head is Antalya Museum inv. A3280, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979 no. 234 pl. 167 and the Classical style head is Antalya Museum inv. 3318, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979 no. 231 pl. 165.
- 97 For the fragmentary inscription, see Şahin 1999, 236–38 no. 197.
- 98 See above all Boatwright 1991, 249–72 and Boatwright 2000, 64–66. Plancia Magna's statue in Antalya Museum inv. A3459, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 248 no. 225 pl. 158–60. For a reconstruction of the wall with the statues of Plancia Magna, see Mansel 1951, 109–10 and Mansel 1975, 74–75 with fig. 35.
- 99 Şahin 1999, nos. 123–124.
- 100 Şahin 1999, no. 117.
- 101 For the integration of Plancia Magna's arch into the columned street, see Heinzelmann 2003, 203–4 and 217 table 1.
- 102 For the inscriptions and the sculptural program of the arch and gate, see Şahin 1999, see 107–45. Cuirassed statue of Hadrian in Antalya Museum inv. A-3053 and A-3076 and the statue of Sabina in the habit of the Large Herculanean Woman Antalya museum inv. A-3086 and A-3066, see Özgür 1987, 35 and 33.
- 103 Plancia Magna is honoured in several other locations in the city.
- 104 Not so in the tomb as discussed above.
- 105 Cyrene Museum inv. C.17027. On Isis, see generally Arslan 1997 and Eingarten 1991 with the statue from Cyrene 171, no. 148 pl. 92.
- 106 Trimble 2000, 41–68.
- 107 For the different interpretations of crowns adorned with busts, see p. 45.

Part Four: The Emperor

Representing the Roman Emperor

- 1 In principal the question of succession was open after each ruler but dynastic issues were present right from the time of Augustus, see for example Winterling 1999, 19f.
- 2 During the reign of Augustus 200 cities started minting coins bearing the image of the emperor. However, there was hesitation in some geographical areas, for instance Syria, see Howgego 1995, 84.
- 3 For a recent discussion of audience targeting on coins, see Hekster 2003. On the question of imperial involvement, see Hannestad 1986, 346ff. opposing Millar 1977 and arguing that the emperor played a very active role in state art, including coinage. For discussion of a more flexible model for the emperor's involvement, see Howgego 1995, 70–73; see also Witschel 1996 and Ando 2000, 215–28.
- 4 For a survey of the different bust types, headdresses and attributes worn by the emperor on coins, see Bastien 1993. For imperial insignia Alföldi 1935 is still valid.

- 5 Gordian III wears a stacked toga, a laurel wreath around his head and holds the eagle-topped triumphal scepter in his hand, see Alföldi 1935, pl. 10.1.
- 6 An attribute of Jupiter and reserved for the emperor the *corona civica* took on the meaning of unlimited authority, see Gradel 2002, 49–51.
- 7 The veil, worn by Julius Caesar (and Marc Antony) when alive and on his consecration coins, becomes a symbol of the deified emperor in the third century, see Bastien 1993, vol. I, 184–99. The radiate crown also denoted the *dupondius*.
- 8 According to Bergmann Nero had earned that honour, which was only bestowed upon Augustus posthumously, while still alive, see Bergmann 1998, especially 180–81 and the review by Smith, see Smith 2000, 536.
- 9 Bergmann 1998, 119–20. See also p. 393–404 for the traditional aspect of the free-standing statue of the emperor.
- 10 For Commodus as Hercules, see Leander Touati 1990, von den Hoff 2005 and Hekster 2005.
- 11 Bergmann 1998, especially 38–39 argues strongly for the use of divine attributes as a metaphor rather than identification. See, however, Nauta 2002, 380–82 with note 8.
- 12 Gradel 2003.
- 13 The radiate crown often worn by the emperor on coins, which became an indication of the double *dupondius* is only rarely attested in the sculpted portraits, see Bergmann 1998, 119. For the relationship between coins and sculpted portraits, see p. 411.
- 14 Fejfer 2003, 78f. on the empress.
- 15 Halfmann 157–62 on Augustus' journeys.
- 16 Suetonius, Tiberius 42.1 discussed by Hekster 2005, 157–66.
- 17 For the imperial court of the Early Empire in general, see Wallace-Hadrill 1996 and p. 283–86 on the *aula*.
- 18 For the role of imperial residences in the formation of the emperor's public image, see Zanker 2002. For the literary sources on imperial residences and imperial courts and the implications of their use, see Winterling 1999, 76–82 and *passim*. See also Klodt 2001.
- 19 On imperial journeys, see Halfmann 1978. For the succession of Roman emperors and in particular on usurpation, see Flraig 1992, 208–35. For the triumph, see Brilliant 1999.
- 20 For the imagery of the enemy, see for example Ferris 2000, 148–77.
- 21 Herz 1978, 1193–99. The rituals around the apotheosis of a Roman emperor have been reconstructed by Zanker 2004. See also Gradel 2002. For triumphal celebrations, see Künzl 1988, 15ff. See also Brilliant 1999a and generally on the rituals surrounding the Roman triumph and at games, see Flraig 2003, 38–40 and 232–60. On the funerary monuments of emperors, see Davies 2000, 13–48.
- 22 Potter 1994, 114–16.
- 23 Plans I–IV in Zanker 1997, are useful, showing distribution of different types of imperial buildings.
- 24 Zanker 1987, 33–36.
- 25 Brilliant 1963 and above note 19. For the *adventus*, see Lehnen 1997.
- 26 Hallett 2005, 92f and on the so-called Ravenna relief and on the emperor's nudity on reliefs in the East.
- 27 For a reconstruction of the ceremony of the imperial apotheosis, see Zanker 2004. For changes in funerary ceremonies of the emperor, see Price 1989. For a survey of imperial tombs, see Davies 2000, 13–48.
- 28 On imperial consecrations, Bergmann 1998, 99–108 especially.
- 29 For the apotheosis relief of Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior, see Schneider 1997, 111 and Gradel 2002, 311.

- 30 Private persons such as the praefects of the Praetorian Guard during the reign of Tiberius and Septimius Severus, Sejanus and Palutianus were also condemned by the Senate, see Varner 2004, 92 and 161–64. Local citizens could have their names removed from inscriptions, perhaps as a result of a decision made by a local institution. However, the vast number of recut portraits of private individuals should probably not be connected to the obliviation of the memory but to practical reuse.
- 31 Caracalla for instance was elevated to *Divus* in inscriptions in some provinces whereas his name was erased from inscriptions in others, see Feijer 1992, 209–14. Commodus was rehabilitated by Septimius Severus when the latter adopted himself into the Antonine dynasty, as is well known.
- 32 Convincingly argued by Carey 2000.
- 33 Varner 2005 with few but convincing examples.
- 34 For the recarving of portraits of banned emperors into those of their followers, see Bergmann & Zanker 1981, Bergmann 1999 and Varner 2004.
- 35 Varner 2004, 139–46.
- 36 Varner 2004, 217–19 on portraits of Maxentius being recarved into portraits of Constantine.
- 37 The famous bust of Commodus as Hercules in the Capitoline Museums was found in a *cryptoparticus* in the *Horti Lamiani* and it has been suggested that it had been concealed by supporters of Commodus. It is also suggested that a portrait of Domitian found in the tomb of Julia Procula on the Isola Sacra, Ostia was hidden, see Varner 2004, 141f.
- 38 Discussed above p. 348.
- 39 Varner 2004, 127. Imperial portraits in tombs of private people seem to have been extremely rare and heavily contextualized. Apart from the portrait of Domitian found in the tomb of Julia Procula on the Isola Sacra by Ostia, Ostia, Museo Ostiense inv. 19, see Calza 1964, 46f. no. 66 there are two imperial miniature portraits from tombs in the far provinces, one of Trajan in rock crystal found in a tomb in Jerusalem and one of Tiberius from a tomb in La Celsa by Rome, see Dahmen 2001, 58, 170 no. 90, 148 no. 3. It is not certain whether the bust of Septimius Severus also discovered on the Isola Sacra, Ostia, Museo Ostiense inv. 29, see Calza 1977, 44f. no. 55 actually derives from a tomb. Statue bases for members of the imperial family (*CIL VI* 40371, 40375 and 40376) have been found in the imperial tombs in Rome to which there must have been very restricted and controlled access.
- 40 The iconography of the interior of the Tipasa basilica is discussed by Schneider, see Schneider 1992, 928. Examples of similar settings from Rome include the central niche in the northern apse of the Basilica Ulpia which was supposed to have held a statue of Trajan and the apse of the Basilica of Maxentius which held the colossal image of Constantine.
- 41 On the effect of repetition, see Bourdieu and Passeron 1996, 36.
- 42 Lahusen 1984 and Pekary 1985 on literary sources and Højte 2005 on epigraphic sources from Augustus to the end of the Antonine dynasty.
- 43 For the problem of identifying inscribed slabs as portrait inscriptions, see above p. 34 with note 80. Based on the older *CIL VI* volumes as well as the 2000 edition by G. Alföldy which also include new information and editions of a number of inscriptions in the older *CIL VI* publications as well as the Addenda et Corrigenda, the following are statue bases (or slabs which because of their proportions are described as “haud dubie frons basis statua” in the Addenda) of Roman emperors from Rome (from Augustus and on): *CIL VI* 881, 900, 31267, 40307, 902, 904, 40335, 40371, 917, 922, 31282, 40413, 927, 929, 931, 932, 934, 31294, 40375, 951, 954, 40376, 40453, 955, 956, 959a–c, 967a, 968, 975, 40489, 967a, 977, 978, 31308, 40515, 998, 999, 1000, 1002, 40529, 40548, 40560, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1012, 36922, 1021, 1023, 1025,

- 31318, 21318a, 1026, 1027, 1038, 1050, 1054, 31323, 40600, 40608, 40636, 1065, 1066, 1068, 31338a, 31359, 32539, 32540, 36937, 40679, 32542, 32544, 1088, 1093, 1094, 32552, 32634, 40691, 32557, 1102, 1112, 40707, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1125, 40715, 1128, 31241, 31384, 36946, 36947, 40720, 40722, 1132, 1133, 31395, 31397, 31399, 1137, 1140, 1141, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 36951, 36952, 36953, 36954, 1155, 1156, 1157, 36949, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 3790, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 3791, 36955, 36956, 1174, 31402, 1182, 31413, 1185, 1186, 36959, 1187, 1192, 31414, 1193, 1194.
- 44 Bauer 1996, 72.
- 45 I.e. bases which can be related to ancient locations or structures.
- 46 39 bases for emperors have been found in the Forum Romanum or buildings nearby (*CIL VI* 917, 922, 40413, 31294, 40453, 31308, 31318a, 40604, 31338a, 40679, 40707, 1119, 1128, 31241, 36946, 36947, 40722, 1132, 1133, 31395, 31397, 1141, 36951, 36952, 36953, 1155, 1156, 36949, 1158, 1161, 1162, 3791, 36955, 36956, 1174, 31413, 36959, 1187, 31414), ten derive from imperial fora (*CIL VI* 31267, 40335, 959a–c, 40489, 1025, 1112, 1143, 1194), nine from baths (*CIL VI* 1166, 1148–1150, 1170–1173, 1188) four from the Palatine (*CIL VI* 975, 40636, 36937, 1125), four from the Aventine (*CIL VI* 1008, 1068, 1159, 1160), and five from the scanctuary of Bona Dea outside Rome at modern Magliana (*CIL VI* 968, 1000, 1012, 1026, 1093). Other find spots include the Capitol (*CIL VI* 967a), Augustus' Mausoleum (*CIL VI* 40371, 40375, 40376), Forum Boarium (*CIL VI* 955), Area Sacra di Largo Argentina (*CIL VI* 40600), the structures of the corporation of horn blowers by the Arch of Constantine (*CIL VI* 40307), Colosseum (*CIL VI* 1115) by Colosseum (*CIL VI* 1120, 1185) by Castro Praetorio (*CIL VI* 32634) and by the Theatre of Pompey (*CIL VI* 1193).
- 47 According to Tacitus, *Ann.* I.73 the equester Falanius had a statue of Augustus in his though private *horti*, see Neudecker 1988, 85.
- 48 Evidence for a Julio-Claudian family group in the Porticus Lentulorum (5–6 A.D.) see Alföldy 2003, 17 (*CIL VI* 40313).
- 49 The corporation of horn blowers (see p. 83–84), in locations which have been identified as stations of fire fighters, see Sableyrolles 1996, 251–72.
- 50 See Pekary 1985, 55–65 for an overview of emperor statues in temples across the Empire.
- 51 Pliny, *Panegyricus* 52.3–5
- 52 Tacitus, *Annals* 13.8.1. This was as big as that of Mars Ultor and a sign of Nero's madness.
- 53 Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 72.31.1
- 54 Herodian 4.8.1 Loeb edition translated by C.R. Whittaker. London & Cambridge, Massachusetts 1969.
- 55 Pliny, *Letters* X.XCVI.8 writing to Trajan when touring Bithynia on offerings of wine and incense to a statue of the emperor in court.
- 56 See above all Bauer 1996 and Alföldy 2001.
- 57 Add to Bauer 1996, 93 note 96 the recently discovered colossal head of Constantine published by A. Insalaco in *Forma Urbis. Itinari Nascosti di Roma Antica* X.9, September 2005, 4–11 and *CIL VI* 1025 a base for the deified Commodus. *CIL VI* 1143 and 1194 are bases for Constantine and Honorius found by Trajan's Forum.
- 58 Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.15. Loeb edition translated by J.C. Rolfe. London & Cambridge Massachusetts 1985.
- 59 Packer 1997, 283.
- 60 Generally see Bauer 1996, 93–94. For the imperial family in the forum, see Boatwright 2000, 61–64.
- 61 Coulston 2003, 416–17.
- 62 Packer 1997, 217–19

- 63 For the iconography of the frieze, see especially Leander Touati 1987.
- 64 For the role of images of women in Trajan's forum, see Boatwright 2000, 61–64. See also Alexandridis 2004, 177–79 under nos. 163–65 who argues against the theory of Gaspari 1979, 530–43 that the statues in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence come from Trajan's forum.
- 65 See Luhusen 1983, 27 and Alföldy 2001, 23 for possible representations of a private individual. There is a list of inscribed statue bases from the Forum of Trajan honoring private people in Packer 1995, 349.
- 66 There is also a statue base honoring a military figure of the Severan period.
- 67 Thirteen inscriptions honour persons who had distinguished themselves in Marcus Aurelius' wars. See the new editions of these inscriptions by S. Panciera & A. Alföldy in *CIL VI* (2000) 4948ff. nos. 41140, 41141, 41142, 41143, 41144, 41145, 41146, 41147, 41148, 41149, 41150, 41151, 41152.
- 68 An over life-size headless togatus deriving from the East Hemicycle of the forum is identified by Packer as a representation of Trajan, Packer 1997, 105 and fig. 65.
- 69 For the quarters of the different *cohortes vigilum* in Rome, see Sableyrolles 1996, 267ff. Also the unpublished MA dissertation by Miriam Kremer, *Untersuchungen zur Aufstellungspraxis und zu den Aufstellungskontexten römischer Kaiserstatuen der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus*. Diss. Heidelberg 2000.
- 70 Busts of Antonine emperors derive from the so-called House of Jason Magnus, see Rosenbaum 1960, cats. 46 and 49.
- 71 Dahmen 2001, 15–59 and nos. 1–97.
- 72 *Annales I.* 73 Loeb edition translated by J. Jackson London & Cambridge, Massachusetts 1962. The passage is discussed in Gradell 2002, 211.
- 73 *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, translated C.R. Haines, Loeb edition 1929, vol. I, 207.
- 74 For literary evidence for emperor portraits in domestic cult, see above all Gradell 2002, 198–212. For small-scale emperor portraits in domestic shrines, see Dahmen 2001, 58–61.
- 75 For a recent overview of the villas around Rome, see Frizell & Klynne 2005. Neudecker 1988, 84–88 has an overview.
- 76 See Neudecker 1988, 88–91 for imperial villas in the suburbs of Rome with imperial portraits. Also the villa of Herodes Atticus and Regilla on Via Appia, see Galli 2002, 116 for inscription mentioning a statue of Faustina Maior.
- 77 For portraits discovered at Hadrians villa see Raeder 1983, 291–93. For imperial portraits from the villa of Antoninus Pius by Lanuvium, see Neudecker 1988, 89–90 with no. 22 and Fittschen 1999, 108.
- 78 In 196/96 A.D. Septimius Severus set up a statue to the deified Nerva on the Capitol, *CIL VI* 954 and *CIL VI* Addenda.
- 79 There is now a study of imperial statue bases from Augustus to Commodus, see Højte 2005. Højte's study includes a full catalogue of the statue bases. Note however that my discussion is based only on those inscriptions which are described as statue bases or as deriving from statue bases 'without reasonable doubt' in the Addenda to *CIL VI* from 1996.
- 80 *CIL VI* 1152.
- 81 Based on museum catalogues and in particular Fittschen/Zanker 1985 I have included both heads without provenance and heads with provenance from Rome. Most of the sculptures in the Capitoline Collections derive from old collections and are likely to have been found in Rome. The figures are therefore only meant to show a tendency.
- 82 No doubt emperor portraits have been collectables since the Middle Ages and thus have a better chance of surviving.
- 83 Smith 1999, 160.

- 84 Bauer 1996, 135f.
- 85 See Lahusen & Formigli 2001 78ff. nos. 29–34. A depot found next to the theatre in Brescia contained six bronze portraits dating from the Flavian period into the mid-third century. Among them were two possible imperial portraits of Domitia Longina and Septimius Severus, see Lahusen & Formigli nos. 101 and 163. For a discussion of the find see also Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 298.
- 86 *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Severus Alexander 28.6 Loeb edition translated by D. Magie. London & New York 1924. The passage is discussed in Bauer 1996, 91f.
- 87 CIL VI 954 and Addenda. Also Potter 1994, 112.
- 88 ‘He placed statues of the foremost men in the Forum of Trajan, moving them thither from all sides’ SHA, Severus Alexander 26.4.
- 89 Now displayed in Sperlonga Museum. Emperor portraits as collectables for private villa displays was discussed above p. 94.
- 90 Oliver 1941, 93–96.
- 91 For the special taxes for regilding of imperial statues in Egypt see p. 163 and for the regular crowning of statues of members of the Severan imperial family, see Rowlandson 1998, 44–45.
- 92 The *collegium* of Arval Brothers was discussed p. 87 ff.
- 93 Fejfer 1992, 113f.
- 94 Discussion of possible posthumous portraits of Julia Domna and Caracalla, see Fejfer 1992. See also Højte 2005.
- 95 Verneisel-Zanker 1979, 32 on posthumous images of Augustus on coins.
- 96 Boschung 1993, nos. 65, 69, 143, 146, 168 and 179 are dated to the Early Flavian period because they are reworked from old Nero portraits. no. 147 is dated to the Antonine period on the basis of style and context.
- 97 Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina inv. 141;86;35;33 (Faustina) and inv. 139;65 (Augustus), see Agnoli 2002, 169–76 nos. 11–12.
- 98 It is suggested that three? portrait statues from the theatre of Perge may represent good emperors including Trajan and Hadrian and that they were commissioned in connection with the last refurbishment of the theatre which took place around 260–65 and 275–76 A.D. It seems unlikely that Trajan should have been ‘revised’ with a beard, see the brief discussion in İşkan 2002, 265 with figs. 12–13.
- 99 Fejfer 1992, 213.
- 100 See above note 84.
- 101 Given the grand scale of the buildings of Boschung’s examples as well as the wide distribution between the finds, see Boschung 2002, 118–31 it seems most likely that it was because of the importance of the location that a number of statues of Flavian emperors were set up in the same locations as those of the the Julio-Claudian family groups. Zimmer’s investigation into fora in North Africa also confirms this, as does finds from imperial cult sites such as Boubon and Narona.
- 102 For ancient authors’ comments on Nero’s colossus, see Carey 2000, 21–22.
- 103 See R. Paris in Barbera & Paris 1996, 131–39. The bath complex may have been part of a private house and the rosso antico statue base for Faustina Maior was probably not inscribed. For the interpretation of the three statues as an allegoric ensemble of *concordia aeternitas*, see Bergmann & Watson 1999, 12.
- 104 Kuttner 1995, 37 on the difficulty of displaying seated statues as freestanding monuments.
- 105 In a local Egyptian context the emperor (and his family) may be represented in Egyptian style. For such representations of foe example the Severan imperial family in the reliefs on the Temple of Khnum in Esna, see Wegner 1971 pl. 23,4.
- 106 Contrary Zanker 1995a, 218 on Hadrian wearing the himation with references to SHA Hadrian 22. 4–5.

- 107 Zanker 1995a, 208–9; Vout 2003, 446f. The identification of the statue with Hadrian is questioned by Borg 2004, 158 note 6.
- 108 London, British Museum inv. 1381, see Huskinson 1975, 38f. no. 69.
- 109 Smith & Porcher 1864, 42 and 91f., although they find that the head does not have a strong resemblance to portraits of Hadrian and that the himation clad body is “rather suitable to a poet or a philosopher than to a Roman emperor”.
- 110 Statue of so-called Nerva now in London, British Museum inv. 1404, see Huskinson 1975, 36f. no. 67.
- 111 Cyrene Museum found in the agora in the so-called *augusteum*, see Bonacasa & Ensoli 2000, 76.
- 112 Convincingly argued by Fittschen, see Fittschen 1999, 129.
- 113 Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1121 and 1896. Heated discussions concerning the identification and in particular the date of the statues can be followed in Fittschen 1991a, 298; Hannestad 1994, 153 and Hannestad 2001, 104 note 44. See also Smith 1998, 69 note 68.
- 114 For the context of portrait statues of the Roman empress, see Alexandridis 2004, 31–35 and 288–89.
- 115 Freier 1963, 102ff.
- 116 With one exception, all *capite velato* statues from Greece from the Iulio-Claudian period, are imperial, according to Harv  -Nikolaus, 59f.
- 117 See the list in Boschung, Augustus 6 note 57.
- 118 Hav  -Nikolaus 61 with notes 286–87 on the different interpretations of the *capite velato*.
- 119 Boschung dates three of the four *capite velato* portraits of the Actium type before 27 B.C., see Boschung 1993 nos. 6, 8, 21)
- 120 Trillmich 1988, 474–76, nos. 282–83.
- 121 For the veil on coin portraits of the emperor, see Bastien 1993, vol. I, 192, 181–99.
- 122 It is only from Egypt that the evidence is ambiguous because most of the few portraits found there seem reworked from earlier portraits.
- 123 Gordon 1990.
- 124 Gordon 1990, 213.
- 125 For the book scroll in scenes of sacrifice, see Raeck 2000, 160–61.
- 126 Rumscheid 2000.
- 127 Gradel 2002, 135–39.
- 128 Gradel 2002, 135–36
- 129 Kunckel 1974, 33–37.
- 130 See above all now Hallett 2005, 160–83.
- 131 For the function of the complex, see Najbjerg 2002 and for the sculptures, see Boschung 2002, 121.
- 132 Octavian is seen on coins in cuirass, see Zanker 1987, 61f fig. 42.
- 133 Found in Livia’s private villa at Prima Porta. For a critical overview of its interpretations, see Elsner 1995, 161–66.
- 134 101 out of 172, 49 out of 172 and 22 out of 172 using the catalogue in Boschung.
- 135 A portrait of Augustus found at the theatre of Butrint has been associated with a cuirassed body likewise from the theatre, see Bergemann 1998, 54; a headless cuirassed statue from the *Augsteum* at Narona has been tentatively identified with Augustus, see I. Rod   in Marin & Vickers 2004, 148–50; a cuirassed torso from Dyme and in the Patras Museum has been associated with an inscription commemorating Octavian as imp. caes. divi f., see Stemmer 140 note 488.
- 136 Boschung, Augustus 6f. with notes 56 and 66.
- 137 Flaig 1992, 152–64.
- 138 *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Hadrian 10.4. Loeb edition translated by D. Magie. London & New York 1924. The passage is discussed in St  cker 2003, 98f.

- 139 Boschung 1987, 199–205; Boschung 1999, 201–11; Maxfield 1981, 67–100; Stäcker 2003, 153–69.
- 140 Stäcker 2003, 186–243.
- 141 It is only on a wide geographical scale that some portraits type may have been preferred instead of others. However, this was closely connected to the way the distribution of the imperial image worked and to the fact that a local workshop might find one model more suitable for its local carving techniques. For the bust piece as becoming an integrated part of the prototype, see above p. 241.
- 142 Beards had featured occasionally in imperial iconography before but these had never been full-grown. For evidence for the emperor wearing the beard before Hadrian, see Vout 2003, 454–55.
- 143 Commodus suffered *damnatio memoriae* and the front part of the head may have been mutilated. It was prepared for restoration with a new face in the 18th century, see Fejfer 1997, 69–70 cat. 34.
- 144 Hallett 2005, 244–45. The typology and style of the head in relation to safely identified portraits of Commodus is discussed in detail in Bergmann 1998, 248–52
- 145 Bergmann & Zanker 1981, 334–35. See also Schneider 2003, 70.
- 146 A good discussion of the meaning and origins of the so-called Sole ruler portrait type of Caracalla is available in Leander Touati 1991; of the portrait of Vespasian, see Schneider 2001; of the portrait of Hadrian, see Zanker 1995, 190–242 and Smith 1998 and of that of the Tetrarchs, see Smith 1999.
- 147 For the imperial portrait in Late Antiquity, see the surveys by Elsner 1998, 54–63; Smith 1999 and Hannestad 2001.
- 148 Clear age development can be followed in the Severan ‘child-emperors’ Elagabalus and Severus Alexander and the imperial children of the Iulio-Claudian, Antonine and Severan dynasties. For the date of the second portrait type of Vespasian in which he looks younger, see Bergmann & Zanker 1981, 334–35 and see also Schneider 2003, 70.
- 149 It is not until Late Antiquity that there is literary evidence for the emperor’s distribution of his own image, and in some instances also commissioning a painting of himself. Evidence is discussed by Ando, see Ando 2000, 245–53. During this period however there were also new and strict regulations for the display of portraits of the emperor (and of private people as we have seen).
- 150 For servants exclusive to the imperial court, see Winterling 1997, 95–96.
- 151 Arguments for an early dating in Fejfer 1997, 71–72 no. 35.
- 152 Raeder 1992, 179–80 traces the hairstyle back in private portraiture to the Hadrianic period and Borg 2004b, 191–93 sees it as a typical luxury hairstyle, see Borg 2004b, 191–93.
- 153 Only Sheldon Nodelman has taken the purely art historical approach of attributing the detailed style of a specific master sculptor at the imperial court, with his so-called Caracalla master, see Nodelman 1982. See also Albertson 1981, 7f.
- 154 Fittschen 1971, 219–24. See also Trillmich 1971 on the relationship between typology and style in imperial portraits.
- 155 Boschung 1993. See also the review by Smith 1996.
- 156 Bergmann 1978, 13 “... die auf direkte Anweisung der Kaiser hergestellt worden sind;” Albertson 1981, 8; Zanker 1983a, 44; Kuhoff 1993a, 19.
- 157 Zanker, 1983, 44, Bergmann 1988, 13 and Bergmann 1997, 140 on the portrait types of Trajan (and Hadrian) which only show very small ‘corrections’ from type to type: “Man wird den Typenwechsel ... nur ganz begrenzt mit einer inhaltlich zu gewichtenden Neufassung des Bildnisses in Verbindung bringen können. Vielmehr muß der Wechsel der Typen durch Feierlichkeiten o.ä. bedingt sein, bei denen es dazu gehörte, dass ein neuer Bildnistypus des Kaisers präsentiert wurde – wir denken dabei gern an Regierungsjubiläen – aber darüber ist nicht wirklich

- etwas bekannt. Sicher ist nur, dass die Neuschaffung solcher Typen nicht unbedingt erforderlich war – ...”
- 158 Gross 1940, Balty 1977/78 and Bergmann 1997 with literature.
- 159 Bergmann & Zanker 1981, 380–402.
- 160 Bergmann 1997, 141–42.
- 161 Balty 1977/78, 52.
- 162 Hill 1970, 11. Hill’s investigation of the coins of the fifth consulate and their relative chronology, building on the development of the portrait style and the bust format on the coins, is problematic both because it is undocumented and because Hill is not aware of the work by Gross 1940, on the typology of the portraits of Trajan.
- 163 Strack 1931, I, 30.
- 164 Gross 1940, 20–21 and Strack 1931, I pl. V 374 struck in the fifth consulate and showing Trajan with large nude breast and wearing sword belt and *paludamentum*.
- 165 Mattingly 1976, vol. III, lx. Also Hobley 1998, 45 on the variety of these types.
- 166 Mattingly 1976, vol. III, lxx n. 2
- 167 Jucker 1984, 30, 27 fig. 12.
- 168 Jucker 1984, 42.
- 169 Bennett 1997, 54.
- 170 See Bennett 1997, 53–73 and Harris 2002, 254–55.
- 171 Eutropius, *Breviarium Ab Urbe Condita* (Abbreviated History of Rome) 8.4.1. See the translation by H.W. Bird 1993.
- 172 Zanker 1980.
- 173 As I have demonstrated before, see Feijer 1998, 47–50.
- 174 Nauta 2002, 349.
- 175 That Faustina Minor might have wished to follow changing fashions was suggested to me by R.R.R. Smith. Part of this chapter was read as a paper entitled ‘The so-called ‘Hofwerkstadt’ at the conference on ‘Workshops’ in Cambridge arranged by R.M. Schneider. I thank R. Bielfeldt, B.E. Borg, A. Claridge, G. Davies, M. Pfanner, R.M. Schneider and R.R.R. Smith for their critical and useful comments.
- 176 Or ‘Palastwerkstatt’, a term used by Soechting 1972 for example.
- 177 So Smith 1996, 31. Zanker 1979 gives an overview.
- 178 An alternative model would be: a famous ‘original’ statue (perhaps even commissioned by a powerful patron like the Senate or a private individual like Herodes Atticus) serving as model but the centrally defined portrait types were conceived as heads (without headgear), not as statues or busts, at least until Trajan; and unlike copies of ideal statuary there was no ‘real’ original, see Boschung 1993, 5–6 and Smith 1996, 37.
- 179 Now in Museo Etrusco in Chiusi, *CIL XI*, 7126.
- 180 Or, alternatively: “painter in the service of emperors” etc. For this meaning, however, we should perhaps rather have expected “Pinctori domus Augustae” or a similar phrase. I am grateful to Ittai Gradel for his translation and comments on this inscription.
- 181 Gazda 2002, Perry 2005, Hallett 2006. Also most recently, see Trimble & Elsner 2006.
- 182 Pfanner 1989, 178. These figures may be much too high, see Feijer 1998, 52. According to the compilation by Højte 2005, 203 portrait inscriptions of Augustus have survived as opposed to 200 portraits. The high proportion of surviving portraits as opposed to inscriptions is exceptional. Usually the ratio between inscriptions to extant portraits is 1:2 or 1:2.5. The explanation for this unique situation regarding the extant material relating to Augustus may lie, I believe, in

- the extensive posthumous use of his image. Many of his posthumous portraits were probably set up as part of imperial groups and not as isolated statues which would need separate inscriptions.
- 183 Rose 1997, 9 in particular argues for a system of gift exchange where the emperor is presented with the decree for his statue and which he has to accept or reject.
- 184 Ziehen 1994, 116–19.
- 185 Boschung 1993, 87 “Bemerkenswert ist, dass kaum Bildnisse aus Italien importiert worden sind” (to the Greek East), see below note 185. Soechting 1972 ascribes all portraits found in the East to local workshops.
- 186 *Discourses of Epictetus*. The text is discussed in Hannestad 1986, 201.
- 187 Based on Boschung 1993, Evers 1994 and Soechting 1972. Higher numbers for the West are not surprising. Firstly, many portraits were probably never underground and have survived into the modern period via collections. Secondly, the distribution of imperial portrait inscriptions from Augustus to Commodus shows that less than 25% of the possible portrait inscriptions derive from Italy, see Højte 2005, 90 and Rome has produced very low numbers compared to the high number of imperial portraits from the capital as I showed above.
- 188 For portraits of Augustus found in the provinces and probably imports from Italy, Boschung 1993, 85–89, includes Merida, Chiragan, Leptis Magna, Osor and Egypt. Evers 1994 assigns two portraits of Hadrian found outside Italy in Milreu (Portugal) and Vaison-La-Romaine (France) to metropolitan Roman workshops. She also assigns portraits from Antium, Rieti, Gabii, Baiae, Ostia and Tivoli to metropolitan Roman workshops. Soechting 1972 likewise assigns portraits of Septimius Severus found in Ostia, Capua, Gabii, by Herculaneum, Toulouse, Luxenburg and Maastricht (Holland) to metropolitan Roman workshops.
- 189 An example of such problems is the attribution by Skupinska-Løvset 1999, 50 of a portrait bust in Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1002 to a typical local Syrian workshop. She also describes the patron as having a typical Semitic origin. The bust which probably depicts M. Ulpius Crotonensis derives from the tomb of Claudia Semne in Rome, see Wrede 1971, 135–36.
- 190 Potter 1994, 11–12.
- 191 Swift 1923, 299f. on the evidence for statues being erected (and portraits probably distributed) of emperors who reigned for only one to three months.
- 192 Pfanner 1989, 178.
- 193 It does however appear indirectly from Boschung’s analysis (Boschung 1993) that the closer the copy is to the prototype the more likely it is to derive from a metropolitan Roman workshop.
- 194 Boschung 1993, 11–50 and 76ff. and the review of Boschung 1993 by Smith 1996, 38.
- 195 Pfanner 1989, 192–204.
- 196 Soechting 1972 and Evers 1994.
- 197 Of the 130 portraits identified as Septimius Severus Soechting attributes 88 to his four metropolitan Roman workshops. They all derive from Rome (or old collections traditionally assembled in Rome) except for 11 portraits that have been found in Italy at Ostia, Tivoli, Capua, Gabii, near Herculaneum and in the western provinces at Chiragan, Luxemburg, Bonn and Maastricht. Of the ca. 143 portraits identified as Hadrian Evers attributes 74 (against 45 from local workshops and 24 from not identifiable workshops) to metropolitan Roman workshops. Of these 43 have the wide provenance “Italy” while exact locations outside Italy include Tivoli, Nemi, Foligno, Baiae, Gabii, Antium, Ceprano, Tauriano have been found in Italy at Antium, Rieti, Caprano, Tivoli, Baiae, Ostia, Rieti, Cassinum. The only portrait not from Italy attributed to a metropolitan Roman workshop is a statue from Vaison-La-Romaine.

- 198 Soechting basically argues that since there were a number of different *oficinae* minting the central coinage, there were accordingly a number of workshops sculpting the central marble portraits, see Soechting 1972, 83–86.
- 199 For the exact location of the villa on Via Cassia and the history of the discovery, see Mastrodonato 1999–2000.
- 200 Full list of portraits and other types of sculpture supposedly found at the site in Mastrodonato 1999–2000, 201–28.
- 201 They may even have been discovered in a secondary position as Winckelmann claims that they were covered with tiles when discovered, see Fittschen 1999, 111 with references.
- 202 The commissioning and date of the type is discussed above and in Feijer 1998, 47f.
- 203 The five Lucius Verus portraits are: 1. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1170 in Kersauson 1996 no. 122; 2. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1101 (here fig. 26); 3. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1131 (here fig. 25); 4. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1094 or 1091 (here fig. 27); 5. Rome, Museo Torlonia Torlonia 556 in Visconti 1885, 556 pl. 143.
- 204 Best existing photo of the Torlonia bust is Visconti 1885, 556 pl. 143.
- 205 The use of the bust format in public contexts was discussed above p. 239–41. Statues for Hadrian include: *Togate statues*: 1. Rome, Capitoline Museums, Atrio 5 (formerly) 36 inv. 54, see Evers 1994, 158 no. 99 (found near S. Stefano Rotondo). *Cuirassed statues*: 1. Antalya Museum inv. A 3730 and A 3875 found in Perge in Nymphaeum F3, see Evers 1994, 82–83 no. 6; 2. Antalya Museum inv. 2649 (found in Perge by the monumental gate), see Evers 1994 84–85 no. 8; 3. formerly Chania Museum inv. 77 but now destroyed (found at Diktynnaiion (Memies) Crete), see Evers 1994, 97–98 no. 23; 4. Istanbul Museum inv. 585 (found in the theatre at Hierapytna in Crete), see Evers 1994 119 no. 50; 5. Jerusalem, Israel Museum inv. IDAM 75–763 and IDAM 75–764 (found in the Camp of Legio VI Ferrata by Tell Shalem), see Evers 1994, 119–20 no. 51; 6. Olympia Museum inv. 148 (found in the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia), see Evers 1994, 139 no. 75; 7. Piraeus Museum inv. 1197 (found in the harbour of Piraeus), see Evers 1994, 153 no. 92. 8. Thasos Museum inv. 2346 (found in a nich in the portico of the agora of Thasos), see Evers 1994, 187–88 no. 138. *Nude figures*: 1. Antalya Museum inv. A 3861 and A 3863 (found in Perge in Nymphaeum F3), see Evers 1994, 83–84 no. 7; 2. Pergamon Museum inv. 160 (found in the so-called Kaisersaal in the Asclepieion in Pergamon, see Evers 1994, 150 no. 88; 3. Rome, Capitoline Museums, Salone 13 inv. 634, see Evers 1994, 100–01 no. 100; 4. Rome, Palazzo Valentini, see Evers 1994, 178–79 no. 126; 5. Sousse, Musée Archéologique (probably from the amphitheatre in El Djem), see Evers 1994, 183 no. 133. 6. Vaison-La-Romaine, Musée Municipal (found in the theatre with a statue of Sabina in Vaison-La-Romaine, see Evers 1994, 194 no. 144. The full figure statues of Septimius Severus is a togate, a cuirassed and a nude nos. 30, 9 and 15, see Soechting 1972. There is a possible further nude figure of Septimius Severus from the Sebasteion in Boubon, see Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 240, cat. 148).
- 206 On imperial journeys, see generally Halfmann 1986.
- 207 Potter 1994, 117–18 and Chianaotis 2003. For the preparations in a city by an imperial visit, see Halfmann 1986, 129–42.
- 208 For example the Vedii in Ephesos, see Lehnen 1997, 260.
- 209 Generally Lehnen 1997 chapter three.
- 210 Such large projects were sometimes undertaken with central involvement, see Horster 2001.
- 211 The evidence for non-durable less precious material used for imperial portraits was discussed above p. 163.

- 212 Gamauf 1999.
- 213 In Lycia Hadrian built a series of grain storehouses, *horrea*, probably to store grain for the army in the East. The inscriptions tell that the horrea belong to the emperor and above the entrance to the one built at Myra were relief portraits of Hadrian and Sabina. The portraits probably served to emphasize what the inscription said that the building was imperial property, see Boatwright 2000, 123f. For the horrea at Myra, see Borchardt 1975, 68 pl. 38A.
- 214 Mouritsen 2001 on the composition of the population and in Ostia arguing against Meiggs 1960, who believed that foreign traders gradually replaced local elites.
- 215 There are 42 imperial statue bases until the end of Antonine period, based on the catalogue in Højte 2005, 229–589.
- 216 Compare the tables of dedicators of imperial state bases across the Empire in Højte 2005, 626–28 where it appears that public institutions usually account for between 35–50% of the total bases dedicated.
- 217 For the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the south side of the forum, see Rieger 2004, 24f. with note 75. For the imperial cult temple the so-called Tempio Rotondo on the east side of the forum, see Rieger 2004, 173–214 and 301–10.
- 218 For emperor portraits in the traditional sanctuaries in Ostia, see Rieger 2004, especially the summary 215–60. For imperial portraits in the baths of Ostia, see Boatwright 2000, 67–70, Valeri 2001, Calza 1964 and 1978. For a colossal head of Trajan probably from the theatre, see Pensabene 2001, 298.
- 219 The construction of the *schola* is however from the mid to late second century A.D., see Bollmann, 1998, 326, and the statue of Trajan was obviously not in its original location when found.
- 220 An inscription for Gordian III, see Bollmann 1998, 277.
- 221 A statue base for Septimius Severus (*CIL XIV* 4569) was found in a portico in the so-called Case dei Triclini identified as the seat of the *tignarii*. This building also housed dedications to Mars Augustus, Trajan and Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (*CIL XIV* 4347, 4293, 4300).
- 222 An architrave block for the entrance to the so-called Tempio Collegiale with a dedication to Pertinax suggests that this was an imperial cult temple of the *collegium fabrum tignariorum*. The niches in the walls surrounding the temple may have held statues.
- 223 The corpus of *cannofores* dedicated small silver images of the emperor in a space behind the Temple of Magna Mater, identified as the *schola* of the *cannofores* and *dendrofores*. The small bases base, which carried either full figure statuettes or portrait busts in silver of the imperial family, were displayed in niches in the back wall of the temple, see Rieger 2004, 143–46 and 290ff.
- 224 For the identification of a ferry service named after the *rusticelii*, see Meiggs 1960, 195. For the inscription recording the imperial images see Herz 1980–81 and Dahmen 2001, 260.
- 225 Lanciani 1889 is still fundamental. See also Rieger 2004, 209f.
- 226 On the importance of the *Sibylline Oracles* for understanding how the emperor was perceived in the provinces, see Potter 1994, 137–45 and *passim*.
- 227 Walker 1994, 181f.
- 228 Zanker 1983, 14f. and Evers 1994, 106f. cat. 34.
- 229 Fejfer 1985, 134–36, Fejfer 1988, 299 with fig. 2 and Højte 2005, 102f.
- 230 Most extreme is Philip the Arabs favours to his home town Philippopolis in Syria and the Severan favours to Africa Proconsularis.
- 231 I have argued elsewhere on the basis of epigraphic evidence that statues of the empress Julia Domna cluster around specific dynastic events and what specific motives there may be behind the setting up of statues of the emperor, see Fejfer 1985, 131f. and Fejfer 1998, 54f. Also Højte 2005, 143–66 based on epigraphic evidence.

Addendum: Statuary Formats and Statuary Habits in Literary Sources: the Inscription Honouring Lucius Volusius Saturninus

- 1 The legendary statue of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi is though described as being in the seated format, see p. 332–33.
- 2 The first part of the inscription is badly damaged but as it is the second part – mentioning the statues – that is of main interest here, I have chosen to present the reconstruction by Eck, see Eck 1972, 463. Eck has also suggested alternative reconstructions, see Eck 1972, 467. See also Eck 1992, 359–63. Also discussed by Boatwright 1982, 9–11 and most recently by Stuart 2003, 81–82. Itai Gradel made the translation.
- 3 Moretti & Sgubini Moretti 1977, 33 and pl. 50ff. and Sgubini Moretti 1998, 47–51.
- 4 A third inscription, honoring the son, Lucius Volusius Saturninus consul in A.D. 12, and found reused in the latrines of the villa, was probably originally placed on the west section of the platform, see Moretti & Sgubini Moretti 1977, 33 pl. 48.
- 5 Eck 1992, 360.
- 6 Eck 1992, 360 note 10 with a critique of Neudecker's rather imaginative reconstruction of the room, see Neudecker 1988, 82.
- 7 *CIL VI* 41075a. Eck 1992, 361 note 21 with reference to the inscription discovered by Panciera, see Panciera 1982 83ff. with fig. 1
- 8 Steinby I, 1993, 145–46.
- 9 Boatwright 1982, 8 note 10 discussing the exact location on the Palatine.
- 10 Steinby IV, 1999, 125–26.
- 11 Eck 1972, 469–70 with references.
- 12 For the triumphal costume, see Künzl 1988, 85ff.
- 13 See Eck 1984, 142–3.
- 14 Boatwright 1982, 9–10 suggesting that the *statua triumphalis* was awarded individuals who helped suppress conspiracies against the emperor.
- 15 For Roman footwear, see Goette 1988. For senatorial dress in general, see Talbert 1984, 216ff.
- 16 In Athens, the archon and consul C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus was represented on one of the reliefs adorning his funerary monument accompanied by lictors which was erected 114–16 A.D. See Smith 1998, 71 with previous references.
- 17 For the iconography of the Roman consul, see Schäfer 1989, 182–83 and 380–81.
- 18 The augur may originally have worn a *trabea* as suggested by some sources, see Freier 1963, 80–83.
- 19 For the emperor *capite velato*, see above.
- 20 Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 972, see Zanker 1987, 128–29 fig. 101.
- 21 See above all Bergemann 1990.
- 22 As a result of the research by A. Allroggen-Bedel there is now consensus that the two equestrian statues were found in the 1746 Bourbonic excavations next to the theatre, almost certainly the forum, see Allroggen-Bedel 1983, 139–57; Adamo Muscettola 1982, 2–16; Pagano & Balasco 2000, 54–56; Najbjerg 2002, 122–65. For the bases and the remains of the three statues, see Bergemann 1990 nos. P32–33, P69, E20, E27–28.
- 23 As observed by Smith, see Smith 1998, 64. See the epigraphic evidence for equestrian statues collected by Bergemann 1990, 150–55 and his index of sites where equestrian statues have been found p. 189–90.
- 24 Brigitte Ruck reconstructs the statue to accompany the base of Arcadius on the Forum of Caesar as the emperor on a rearing horse slaying the enemy, see Ruck 2001.
- 25 “Gesture of Address” is Tonio Hölscher’s expression in his review of Bergemann 1990, see Hölscher 1998, 707; Bergemann 1990, 6–8. Raeck 2000, 161 on “Befehl zum Schweigen”.

- 26 The plebs urbana acted as dedicators of a biga for a municipal eques in Amiternum in Regio 4 and in Pisaurum in Regio 6, see Forbis 1996, nos. 235 and 318.
- 27 Compare the many quadriga groups erected in honour of members of the imperial family on the North African fora discussed in Zimmer 1989, 40–43 and fig. 22.
- 28 Schäfer 1989, *passim*, and Flower 1996, 77–79.
- 29 For the significance of this material, see p. 166 with references.
- 30 For four statues in the same statuary type found at Dion, see Pandermalis 1997, 54–55 and 59–60. For the use of the seated statue in the late antique East, see Smith 1999a, 718 and for the infrequent use of the type among private citizens, see p. 110 and Liverani 1994.



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89. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 85.2000.
90. Mantova, Palazzo Ducale inv. 186. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 62.126.
91. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagonale inv. 900. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 92Vat..145/146.

92. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagone inv. 900. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 92Vat.139/140.
93. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1887. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87Vat.328.
94. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1887. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87Vat.325.
95. Tripoli, National Museum. Photo: author.
96. Toulouse, Musée Saint Raymond inv. 30112. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 96. 907.
97. Toulouse, Musée Saint Raymond inv. 30112. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 96. 910.
98. Damascus, National Museum. Photo: DAI Damascus, Inst. Neg. 1984.242.
99. Damascus, National Museum. Photo: DAI Damascus, Inst. Neg. 1984.243.
100. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum inv. H1445. Photo: museum (Jo Selsig).
101. Liverpool Museum inv. 49.18.53. Photo: museum.
102. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseets Antiksamling inv. 8A14. Photo: museum.
103. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photo: museum web-site.
104. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 39.950.
105. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 79.2809.
106. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1421. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 90Vat.931.
107. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano inv. 124472. Photo: author.
108. Photo: author.
109. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano inv. 124472. Photo: author.
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111. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1956. Photo: museum.
112. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo inv. 56230. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 65.1111.
113. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano. Photo: Vat. Fot. Arch. XXV.9.47.
114. Photo: author.
115. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.314.
116. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6603. Photo: museum.
117. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6603. Photo: author.
118. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6603. Photo: author.
119. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6603. Photo: author.
120. Tripoli Museum. Photo: author.
121. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini inv. III.70. Photo: DAI Rome Inst. Neg. 2001.1945.
122. Ostia, Museo Ostiense inv. 55. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 67.1076.
123. Eleusis Museum inv. 5268. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 71/219 (Gösta Hellner).
124. After F. Queyrel, "C. Ofellius Ferus", *BCH* 115 (1991) 412 fig. 29.
125. Chieti, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 4428. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 67.837.
126. Ostia, Museo Ostiense inv. 121. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 38.1545
127. Tripoli Museum. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 61.1789
128. Sabratha Museum. Photo: author.
129. Sabratha Museum. Photo: author.
130. Sabratha Museum. Photo: author.
131. After H. Eschebach, *Pompeji: erlebte antike Welt*. Leipzig 1978, fig. 100.
132. Museum Brukenthal. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 70.3538.

133. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6104. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.1123.
134. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6104. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87.849.
135. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6211. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87.853.
136. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6104. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87.846.
137. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6211. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87.851.
138. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6167. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 73.1693.
139. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6167. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.1118.
140. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6246. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 73.1692.
141. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6246. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.1099.
142. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6168. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 73.1691.
143. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6168. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.1103.
144. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6102. Photo: museum.
145. After U. Pappalardo, 'Marcus Nonius Balbus. Der Patronus von Herculaneum', in J. Mühlenbrock & D. Richter, *Verschüttet vom Vesuv. Die letzten Stunden von Herculaneum*. Exhibition Berlin 2005, 171–81 fig. 4.
146. After U. Pappalardo, 'Marcus Nonius Balbus. Der Patronus von Herculaneum', in J. Mühlenbrock & D. Richter, *Verschüttet vom Vesuv. Die letzten Stunden von Herculaneum*. Exhibition Berlin 2005, 178.
147. After U. Pappalardo, 'Marcus Nonius Balbus. Der Patronus von Herculaneum', in J. Mühlenbrock & D. Richter, *Verschüttet vom Vesuv. Die letzten Stunden von Herculaneum*. Exhibition Berlin 2005, 179.
148. After U. Pappalardo, 'Marcus Nonius Balbus. Der Patronus von Herculaneum', in J. Mühlenbrock & D. Richter, *Verschüttet vom Vesuv. Die letzten Stunden von Herculaneum*. Exhibition Berlin 2005, 171–81 fig. 8.
149. Thessaloniki Museum inv. 3026. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 71/640 (Gösta Hellner).
150. Athens, National Museum inv. 387. Photo: museum.
151. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1445. Photo: museum (Ole Haupt).
152. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 121221. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 40.1185.
153. After F. Chapoutreir, *Exploration Archéologique de Délos. XVI. Le Sanctuaire des Dieux de Samothrace*. Paris 1935, 56.
154. Photo: author.
155. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 780. Photo: museum (Ole Haupt).
156. Narni, Municipio. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 74.301.
157. Petworth House. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. 1456-07.
158. Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 296. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 57.734.
159. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale P. Orsi inv. 864. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 71.863.
160. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano inv. 112121=124710. Photo: author.

161. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala Rotonda 545. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 83.1620.
162. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 2000.58.
163. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 39165. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. Fitt78-40-08 (G. Fittschen-Badura).
164. Chatsworth House. The Collection of the Dukes of Devonshire inv. A 36. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. 1031-04.
165. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6033. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 67.546.
166. Rome, Banca d'Italia, Via Nazionale 91. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 85.2204.
167. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1453. Photo: museum (Ole Haupt).
168. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17035. Photo: author.
169. Rome, Galleria Colonna. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 82.2295.
170. Rome, Banca d'Italia, Via Nazionale 91. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 85.2210.
171. The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund inv. 65.242, 65.243, 65.244, 65.245, 65.246, 65.247. Photos: museum.
172. Bodrum Museum inv. 44.78. Photo: museum.
173. Petworth House, the Collection of the Earls of Egremont. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik neg. 1224/1.
174. Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 480. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 59.1829.
175. Photo: author.
176. Selçuk Museum inv. 850 (bust) and 743 (head). Photo: Warburg Institute Negative E. Rosenbaum XVI.64.
177. Thessaloniki Museum inv. 1058. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 71/656 (Gösta Hellner).
- 178–179. Brussels, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Historie inv. A/1078 and A/1079. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. Fitt68-29-10 and Fitt68-29-9 (G. Fittschen-Badura).
180. Munich Glyptothek inv. 384. Photo: museum.
181. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1621. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 88Vat.1326.
182. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 2362. Photo: author.
183. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo 92 inv. 2180. Photo: Vat. Fot. Arch. XXXIV.16.95.
184. Toulouse, Musée Saint Raymond inv. 30131. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 96.862.
185. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1063. Photo: author.
186. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1063. Photo: author.
187. Delos Museum inv. 6780. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1970/971 (Gösta Hellner).
188. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 3158. Photo: museum (Ole Haupt).
189. Delos Museum inv. 2912. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1970/976 (Gösta Hellner).
190. Delos Museum. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1970/994 (Gösta Hellner).
191. Delos Museum inv. 3405. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1970/991 (Gösta Hellner).
192. Delos Museum inv. 6050. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1970/1006 (Gösta Hellner).
193. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1612. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87Vat.190.
194. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1903. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 88Vat.54.
195. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1751. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 88Vat.138.

196. Rome. Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini inv. 2433. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 2001.2098.
197. After F. Friberg et al. (ed.), *Register. Torben Eskerod – og Franz Xaver Messerschmidt*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2001. Copenhagen 2001, 37.
198. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 752. Photo: museum.
199. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico inv. P.G.1. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 82.274.
200. Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano inv. 3291. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 75.1108.
201. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1238. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 90Vat.928.
202. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 806. Photo: museum.
203. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 68.5152.
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205. Houghton Hall, Collection of the Earls of Cholmondeley. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg.1405-01.
206. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.1247.
207. Berlin, Altes Museum inv. 421. Photo: museum.
208. Athens, National Museum inv. 419. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1971/67 (Gösta Hellner).
209. Veria Museum inv. 409. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1971/741 and 1971/742 (Gösta Hellner).
210. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi 66. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 61.705.
211. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi 66. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 61.706.
212. Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 459. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 61.708.
213. Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 459. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 61.709.
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218. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 2767. Photo: museum.
219. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 789. Photo: museum.
220. Reconstruction drawing by Thora Fisker.
221. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1435. Photo: museum.
222. Diagram by Barbara Borg.
223. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. Fitt78-35-03 (G. Fittschen-Badura).
224. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. Fitt78-35-05 (G. Fittschen-Badura).
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231. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. K110. Photo: museum.
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233. Teramo, Museo Civico. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 94.1338.
234. Castle Howard. Collection of the Earls of Carlisle. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. 1663-22.
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236. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17024. Photo: author.
237. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17024. Photo: author.
238. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17024. Photo: author.
239. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17024. Photo: author.
240. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17028. Photo: author.
241. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17028. Photo: author.
242. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17028. Photo: author.
243. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17028. Photo: author.
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247. Merida, Museo Nacional de arte Romano inv. 94. Photo: Walter Trillmich, courtesy of the museum.
248. Merida, Museo Nacional de arte Romano inv. 34.693. Photo: Walter Trillmich, courtesy of the museum.
249. Rome, Museo Capitoline inv. 496. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 77.1718.
250. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagone inv. 1130. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 92Vat.97.
251. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagone inv. 1130. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 92Vat.101
252. Ostia, Museo Ostiense inv. 21. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 68.5169.
253. Munich, Glyptothek inv. 377. Photo: museum.
254. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N.2577. Photo: museum.
255. Museum Brukenthal. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 70.3516.
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257. Athens, National Museum inv. 707. Photo: DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 1970/1314 (Gösta Hellner).
258. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6248. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 65.1257.
259. Petworth House, Collection of the Dukes of Leconfield. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. 1605-00.
260. Petworth House, Collection of the Dukes of Leconfield. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. 1559-10.
261. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1643. Photo: museum (Ole Haupt).
262. Pompeii, Antiquario inv. 14205. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 77.2276.
263. Vaison, Musée inv. 301. Photo: museum

264. Vaison, Musée. Photo: museum.
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269. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6398. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 89.128.
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272. Como, Museo Civico Archeologico inv. E 2951. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 1935.2144.
273. Milan, Museo d'Arte Antica Castello Sforzesco inv. 755. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 1942.166.
274. Milan, Museo d'Arte Antica Castello Sforzesco inv. 755. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 1942.167.
275. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Ingresso inv. 2430. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 1941.2573.
276. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1352. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87Vat.69.
277. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1351. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87Vat.66.
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279. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1489. Photo: museum.
280. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1424. Photo: museum.
281. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1748. Photo: museum.
282. Liverpool Museum inv. 1988.116. Photo: museum.
283. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 737. Photo: museum (Ole Haupt).
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289. Cyrene Museum inv. C 17030. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 58.2527.
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291. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MA 1155. Photo: museum.
292. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (formerly Palazzo dei Conservatori inv. 889) Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 2001.1937.
293. Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 256-E. Photo: DAI Madrid, Inst. Neg. R 18-87-1.
294. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 782. Photo: museum.
295. Madrid, Museo del Prado inv. 216-E. Photo: DAI Madrid, Inst. Neg. R 43-87-2.
296. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N. 1490. Photo: museum.
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301. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Magazino inv. 568. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne neg. Fitt80-21-7 (G. Fittschen-Badura).
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323. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori inv. 276. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 79.1568.
324. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti inv. 1229. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 87Vat.12.
325. Toulouse, Musée Saint Raymond inv. 30154. Photo: DAI Rome, Inst. Neg. 96.810.
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